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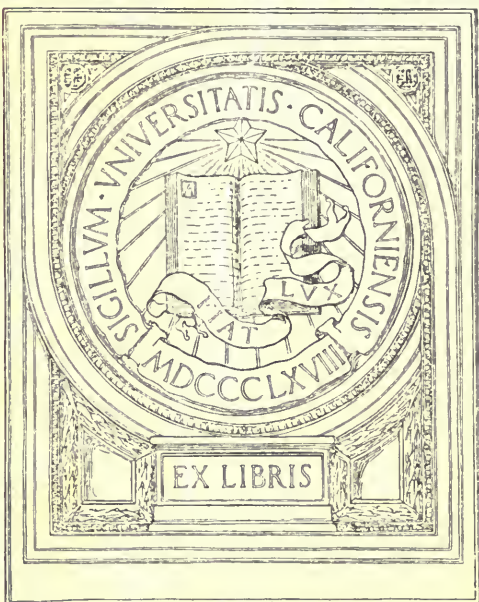


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John M. Alford

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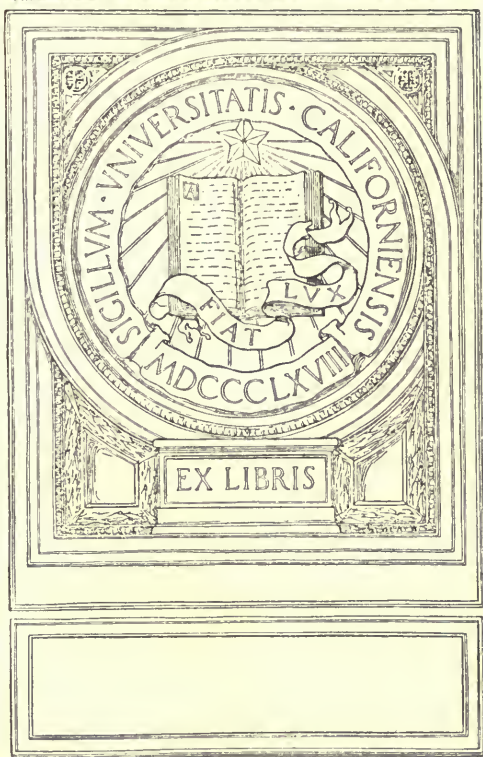


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A N A L Y S I S
OF THE ~~Market~~
POLITICAL HISTORY
OF ~~J. Paillet, 1790~~
I N D I A.

IN WHICH IS CONSIDERED,
THE PRESENT SITUATION OF THE EAST,
AND THE
CONNECTION OF ITS SEVERAL POWERS
WITH THE EMPIRE OF
G R E A T B R I T A I N.

BY
RICHARD JOSEPH SULLIVAN, Esq.

THE SECOND EDITION, CONSIDERABLY ENLARGED.

L O N D O N :
PRINTED FOR T. BECKET, PALL-MALL, BOOKSELLER TO
HIS ROYAL HIGHNESS THE PRINCE OF WALES, AND
THEIR ROYAL HIGHNESSES THE PRINCES.

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ADVERTISEMENT.

THIS little work was first printed in 1779. The Parliament which sat that year, it was imagined, would inquire into the political situation of India. Voluminous publications had rendered a thorough investigation of the Eastern subject not only wearisome, but impracticable : — impracticable, at least, to such as had other very serious matters to claim their constant and close attention. To remedy so striking an inconvenience, the author presumed to draw into as small a compass as possible the leading features of so complicated a scene. Local knowledge had rendered

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rendered him, he hoped, not intirely unqualified for the task : and truth he was resolved should guide him in the disquisition. Pardon must be claimed for the assertion, though it assuredly is not hazarded without foundation ; that party ideas had warped sound judgement ; that men and actions, together with many important political considerations, were viewed and judged of through a distorted medium ; and that contest, sharpened to uncommon animosity, had banished, though undesignedly, the welfare of the many ; while the momentary success, or the passions of a few, occupied the breasts of those on whom the Indian world was dependent for salvation. The British empire in Hindostan is great, not only in itself, but in its extensive connections. Its army, embodied during the last war, and which amounted to upwards of one hundred

hundred and twenty thousand men, shews the magnitude of the dominion, which the very few sons of liberty, when taken in comparison, possess over the native children of Hindostan. In the course of a few years, and in the midst of universal war, much change must necessarily happen. The East manifests this in various instances. But the leading principles which first impel to a reformation of system, continue in their nature so intirely the same, that it is expedient they should not be forgotten. Under this conviction, (although certain points treated of in the following pages have been since carried into execution) the author returns the Analysis of India, in its original garb, in a new edition. Difference of sentiment will lead many men to differ from him in some of his conclusions : but as he holds them perfectly blameless for
their

their opinions, so he trusts they will hold him, for simply maintaining what, to his conviction, is right. In the notes the reader will find some exemplifications, which were deemed essential to the subject of the work. In the additions, the history of the Mahrattahs, Seiks, Abdallies, and others, intirely new, are drawn from the most undoubted authorities.

C O R R I G E N D A.

- Page 126, line 16, after *kingdoms*, insert *of*.
 — 131, — 10, before *pecuniary*, dele *the*.
 — 136, — 21, for *Royhindgen*, read *Royhindgur*.
 — 155, — 22, for *Oodipou*, read *Oodipoor*.
 — 166, — 6, for *Benares*, read *Banaris*.
 — 183, — 24, for *Ally*, read *Couly*.
 — 192, — 4, for *right*, read *rule*.
 — 195, — 9, for *fædal*, read *feodal*.
 — 200, — 24, before *Europeans*, dele *the*.
 — 209, — 8, for *Leharinpoor*, read *Scharinpoor*.
 — 214, — for *Sirjeds*, read *Siyeds*.
 — 220, — 14, instead of *Chaur-Naugh*, read *Chaur-Baugh*.
 — 230, — 8, for *Sufder-Jung*, read *Sufder-Jung's*.
 — 237, — 11, for *Ummen*, read *Ummeer*.
 — 297, — 6, before *present*, dele *the*.

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A N A L Y S I S
O F T H E
P O L I T I C A L H I S T O R Y
O F
I N D I A.

B O O K I.

TH E respective nations of the Portuguese and Dutch, the English and French, having alternately founded extensive empires in the East Indies, and the English in particular having arisen to an high degree of pre-eminence over their rivals in that division of the globe, a brief enquiry into the transactions of each of

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those governments may not be unwelcome, at a crisis when India matters are become of serious consideration to this nation.

The East, for many centuries before our Christian æra, poured forth its riches to the uttermost extent of the then known civilized parts of the creation; but to no country in such profuse abundance as to that of Egypt. How this traffic was carried on in those days, when maritime knowledge was still but in its infancy, is at this moment a matter more worthy of the investigation of the antiquary than the historian. Suffice it, that their commerce appears to have been founded upon the broadest basis of mutual and general utility, and that their exports and imports were nearly what they are at this day. Happily situated for an intercourse of that nature, the industry of the Egyptians led them to partake of all its benefits. By
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the conveniency of their harbours in the Red Sea, they engrossed the exclusive privilege of purchasing the commodities of India; and by their ports on the Mediterranean, they were enabled to diffuse them among the Greeks and the Romans at an exorbitant degree of profit.

In this manner the trade with Asia was long carried on. At length, upon the destruction of the Roman empire, that mighty fabric of ambition, and the subsequent establishment of its warlike but uncivilized invaders, a stop was put to the continuance of so flourishing a commerce; nor did it again rear its head, until the Venetians, situated on the Adriatic gulph, boldly ventured upon an enterprize, which, however difficult in the beginning, promised them, with perseverance, an ample return for the dangers and risques which they should run.

The Venetians accordingly encouraged a revival of the trade with India by means of the Red Sea, and by their contracts with the Egyptians so effectually secured a monopoly of it to themselves, that Venice soon became the emporium of Asiatic manufactures. Its citizens grew wealthy ; and this little republic, from being of no consequence, suddenly became a nation of power and consideration.

Another channel, however, had for some time opened itself for the introduction of Indian manufactures into Europe. This was by means of the Persian gulph, from whence by caravans passing over the deserts of Arabia, and sometimes along the borders of that country, the articles of Asiatic commerce, more generally in demand, had been brought by tedious journeys to the borders of the Ægeian sea, and thence transported by shipping
to

to the mercantile dealers at Constantinople.

Thus confined within boundaries which afforded advantage to a few, at the same time that it impoverished the other countries of Europe, the traffic of the East became a subject of discussion amongst men, who, from study and reflection, were enabled to reason upon its importance. Rome, enfeebled in all its parts, shewed but the remnants of its former greatness. Bigotry and superstition had reared to themselves a power more formidable and rivetted, than human ascendancy had hitherto acquired. The church declared itself omnipotent in its decrees, and made even sovereigns shake with terror on their thrones. Italy, the seat of its more immediate influence, long groaned under the servitude it imposed. The wretched inhabitants of that fertile clime felt what they dared not utter. Genius lay dead

amongst them. A happier gleam of freedom indeed beamed upon them at a distance; but they were yet in bondage, and their faculties could not be employed. The Spaniards, distracted within themselves, torn by perpetual efforts for their liberty, and abandoned to the wildest chimeras of romance, proudly confined their thoughts to the arrogant superiority which they claimed over the rest of mankind. And the Portuguese, though milder in their government, in general were actuated by a similar disposition. The French, rising from a state of vassalage in which they had hitherto been kept, aimed, though with inconsiderateness, at the establishment of freedom; industry exerted itself, as they emancipated from their barons, but their dependence was too rooted to be easily shaken off. The Germans, long involved in bloody contests with each other, and smarting from the struggles betwixt the hierarchy and the empire, were

were yet unfettled amongst themselves. Rude and uncivilized, agriculture and war were the only sciences which they cultivated: tranquillity reigned among them but at times; they yet, however, were formidable, and enjoyed more liberty than their neighbours. The Northern countries, still less cultivated than the Germans, experienced all the evils of licentious freedom and barbarity. And the Turks, though numerous in the field, were yet unfettled in their government. England alone of all the European powers seemed to possess that spark of liberty, which, however discordant on its first breaking out, was finally to effectuate the downfall of oppression. Its nobles, though daring, were indigent and illiterate; the sovereigns, too limited in their authority, were driven by necessity to take part with the body of their subjects, and thus by a coalition of the extremities of the state,

that constitution became established, which fixed the pride and the glory of a Briton.

In this situation was Europe, when the Portuguese, actuated by a spirit of enterprise, and headed by a monarch of ability, formed the design of extending their power to the East. Madeira was the first of their discoveries in 1418, and the Canary islands became subject to their authority in 1420. John the Second, a prince singularly learned for the days in which he lived, and above all, intimately acquainted with astronomy and navigation, encouraged this propensity amongst his people. In his reign the passage round the extremity of Africa was first accomplished, and that too under difficulties, which, even at this time, would stagger the resolution of the boldest explorer. Emanuel adopted the plan which had been pursued by his predecessors, and in the year 1497, fitted out the first fleet for the East Indies, under
the

the command of Vasco de Gama, which fortunately arrived there after a voyage of more than thirteen months. Gama, on his return to Lisbon, failed not to boast of the regions he had visited. His accounts flattered the ardour of his countrymen : the riches he had seen stimulated their avarice, and the prospect they had of propagating their faith, added not a little to the inclination which they already had conceived for an establishment in the East.

The Pope, the universal sovereign of the earth, and who disposed of kingdoms, either known or yet to be discovered, as if they had all been hereditary in the church, conferred upon them the countries which they had thus brought under his jurisdiction.

Successful in these their first attempts, and finding the nations of India in general tractable

tractable and full of mildness, the Portuguese wisely set about establishing a system of power and of commerce; and for this purpose pitching upon Alphonso Albuquerque, the most discerning of those who had been in Asia, appointed him their viceroy. Albuquerque accordingly sailed from the Tagus with a considerable armament under his command, and after a long voyage arrived on the Malabar side of India, where he seized upon the city and country of Goa. At this place he planned the conduct of his future operations. The necessity of destroying the trade, carried on by means of the gulphs of Persia and Arabia, was the first subject which engaged his consideration. The Venetians, he saw, were entirely to be overset, or the grand object of his mission would be inevitably frustrated.

Impressed with an idea of this importance, Albuquerque immediately set to work.

work. His principal force he turned towards the traffic of the Arabian gulph; and having taken effectual precautions to prevent the passage of any vessel into the Indian ocean, he next successfully turned his arms on the defenceless merchants who visited the Persian gulph, and carried on that commerce which had hitherto been advantageous to the citizens of Constantinople. The authority of his sovereign being thus established where it chiefly was required, and the Malabar coast of India being likewise subjected to his power, the ambition of the viceroy led him to an extension of his conquests. The island of Ceylon first submitted to his sword; next the country of Malacca, whose principal port was at that time the most considerable in the East.

From this place, so happily situated for the trade of all those countries which lie to the eastward of Hindostan, Albuquerque

querque formed the design of getting a footing in the dominions of the Chineſe, and accordingly prevailed upon his ſovereign to ſend an ambaffador to the monarch of that empire, who arrived at Canton, under the protection of a formidable ſquadron, in 1518.

The Chineſe, a people as induſtrious as they are civilized, and who, without the aid of adventitious improvement, have arrived at an unparalleled degree of perfection, both in their laws and in their cuſtoms, received the ambaffador of the Portugueſe with candid and unaffected demonſtrations of kindneſs and reſpect. The ports of the whole empire were opened to their ſhips. The natives entered into connections of amity with the traders; and their eſtabliſhment had been certain, had not licentiousneſs and rapacity broke looſe amongſt them. Being called upon, however, to aſſiſt the forces
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of the emperor against a pirate who infested his coasts, and who had seized upon the island of Macao, they, in concert with the Chinese fleet, so effectually destroyed the power of that rebel, that the emperor bestowed upon them the island of Macao, and encouraged them to build a town, which, in the sequel, became the general mart of their Eastern commerce.

In 1542, many years subsequent to this, the Portuguese being driven by adverse winds, into unknown seas, discovered the important island of Japan. One of their vessels was accidentally thrown upon its shores, and in so wretched and helpless a condition, that the natives with impunity might have seized upon both mariners and ship; but humanity and hospitality reigned amongst them: they yielded their assistance to the unfortunate with alacrity and cheerfulness; and, in a short time, enabled

enabled the Portuguese to return to their homes, filled with admiration at the reception they had met with. An account of this occurrence being speedily communicated to the government at Goa, adventurers of all denominations crowded to the ships, which were immediately destined to transport a colony to Japan, and the profit of their first voyage amply repaid them for the risk and the expenses of the enterprise.

With advantages like these, the avarice and ambition of the Portuguese might certainly have been satisfied. They were masters of the gulphs and coasts of Persia and Arabia, and of the two Peninsulas of India. They possessed the islands of Ceylon, Sunda, and Molucca, while their settlement at Macao insured to them the commerce of China and Japan. Throughout this immense tract, the will of the Portuguese was the supreme law; earth
and

and sea acknowledged their sovereignty. Even Africa afforded them an empire, of which Mozambique was the center.

But luxury and effeminacy had unstrung the nerves of the descendants of the conquerors of the East. Dissipation and extortion had rendered them detestable amongst the natives, over whom they tyrannized. Religion bathed its hands in the blood of all who were unfriended and unprotected; and the name even of justice had vanished from the land. Thus abhorred in every part, and wicked, without spirit to defend their wickedness, a combination was formed against them. The different powers of India leagued, as in a common cause, against such monsters of inhumanity; and in that situation held them, when the Dutch began to shew themselves in the seas and on the continent of Asia.

Philip

Philip the Second of Spain, in the year 1594, having annexed to his already-considerable dominions the extensive country of Portugal, and thereby becoming master of the sources whence Europe was supplied with wealth, namely, America and the East, vainly flattered himself with the hope of preventing the other nations of Europe from partaking of the treasure. The Dutch, in particular, he determined to exclude. Leagued in defence of their religious and political rights, and emboldened by the success with which they had almost miraculously been crowned, the Low Countries at this time had declared their independency. England and France, either openly or in secret, had granted them the assistance they stood in need of; and, in fact, had acknowledged them the free and independent provinces of the Netherlands.

Philip,

Philip, smarting from the failure of every system of coercion he had adopted, and peculiarly distressed at his hereditary patrimony being thus dismembered from the Spanish monarchy, turned the whole bent of his unrelenting temper towards the ruin of a people, whom his barbarous policy and rigour had not been able to subdue. To this end he forbade an intercourse betwixt Holland and the Portuguese.

Deeply engaged in a commerce which had been reciprocally advantageous, so sudden a stop to its continuance was unexpected and distressing. In punishing the Low Countries, Philip undesignedly involved his new kingdom in its ruin. Holland rose from the temporary losses it sustained; but Portugal, from this intemperate exertion of the power of its prince, never recovered the blow which it received. Deprived of the channel which had heretofore supplied

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them with the luxuries of the East, the Dutch determined to seek them at the fountain-head; and to this end fitted out two small fleets, which, failing in different years, returned with such unequivocal proofs of the advantages of the scheme, that the States-General united the several societies into one in 1602, under the name of the East-India Company.

This company was invested with authority to make peace or war with the Eastern princes, to erect forts, chuse their own governors, maintain garrisons, and nominate officers for the conduct of the police and the administration of justice; and in reality, according to some historians, having no parallel in antiquity, was the pattern of all succeeding societies of the same kind, and commenced with extraordinary advantages.

Admiral

Admiral Warwick, soon after the incorporation of the Company, received the command of a considerable squadron, with which he proceeded to the East; and there, having pitched upon the island of Java, he erected a fort and several factories, for the purpose of trade. He likewise conciliated to himself the friendship of some of the most considerable potentates of Hindostan.

Abhorred as the Portuguese were by their subjects in the East, the Dutch had no difficulty in acquiring an ascendancy over them in the good opinion of the natives; but the internal ability of the first discoverers was still considerable. Moreover, they had the advantage of resources, for which the Dutch had obstinately to fight. Transferred from the sovereign to the subject, a violent animosity had taken place between these nations. Portugal began to contend, as if she had originally

been concerned in the transactions of Spain with the United Provinces; and the Dutch, exasperated at her conduct, threatened a revenge that should punish her for her interference. A bloody war in consequence ensued, and ended in the overthrow of the Portuguese in India.

In the year 1624, the Hollanders being invited to the island of Formosa, there formed a settlement, which speedily arose to a great degree of opulence; and some time after made their first voyages to Japan, where the same rancorous hatred prevailed against the Portuguese that reigned almost indiscriminately throughout the East. Pliant, wary, and attentive to their own interests, the Dutch readily listened to overtures which were made them by the Japanese. They represented the Portuguese as the most abandoned and profligate of men. The enmity of the Japanese towards them they com-

commended in terms calculated to shew the warmth and disinterestedness of their zeal ; but their views they undeviatingly kept fixed upon the acquisition of an establishment, which, with all their art, they never were able to accomplish. At first, indeed, having assisted the Japanese, not only with arms and ammunition, but with the aid of their troops, against the unhappy Christians of the island, they acquired a degree of credit and reputation which gave them a tolerable footing ; but that was only of momentary continuance. Three years had scarce elapsed, when they were reduced to the lowest extremity of humiliation and contempt. The Japanese confined them to the limits of an inconsiderable islet : where stripping them of their rudder, together with their guns, and every kind of offensive weapon, they enjoined them the perpetration of an act, which staggers almost the power of belief. This was to abjure the principles of the Christian faith ;

and, as a proof of their apostacy, to trample over, and deride a representation of the crucifix of their Saviour. How far necessity might have pleaded for their acquiescence in so horrible a sentence, when it was first propounded, is a discussion from which charity prompts us to forbear; but that, from a principle of avarice, they should afterwards persevere in it, is a depravity of that execrable complexion, which shocks every principle of reason and humanity. Such, however, was their practice at the period we are reviewing, and such it is at this moment, if travellers are to be credited.

Great as their disappointment unquestionably was in being excluded from an influence in the government of Japan, the Dutch had yet other resources, which opened to them a vast and inexhaustible source of wealth. These were the islands of Molucca, which they wrested from the

Por-

Portuguese in 1627; besides the islands of Celebes, Timor, and a communication which they opened with Borneo, one of the largest, and then, indeed, generally supposed, the largest island in the world. Nor were they inattentive to parts which were situated at a greater distance: settlements were formed on Sumatra, an island abounding with gold, tin, and pepper; but not very well known excepting on its coasts. A trade was also established at Siam, and steps were taken for the reduction of Malacca.

Malacca, as we have already represented, was the most considerable commercial town in the East; but being regularly besieged, and the approaches vigorously supported, it was at length carried by storm, and delivered over to the pillage of the conquerors. The Dutch being thus masters of Malacca, they wisely drew into their power a command of the two only freights,

which were then known for the admission of Europeans into the Eastern seas of China and Japan. Batavia, at the extremity of Java, guarded the streights of Sunda; and Malacca possessed the exclusive navigation of a channel, on the shores of which it was so admirably placed, and from whence it derived its appellation.

Not satisfied, however, with acquisitions such as these, they turned their thoughts towards the island of Ceylon, which hath formerly been mentioned, and which they conquered after several engagements with the Portuguese in 1658. This was their great object, and that which cost them their dearest blood. Possessed thus of the Moluccas, from whence cloves, mace, and nutmegs are derived, and of the beautiful and extensive country of Ceylon, which yields the finest cinnamon in the world, the Dutch secured to themselves a trade, which hath
ever

ever since proved to them a mine of unfailing and substantial riches.

Their settlements, indeed, on the coast of Coromandel, viz. Negapatnam, taken from the Portuguese in 1658, Sadraspatnam, Pullicat, and Bimlipatnam, are all of but inconsiderable emolument to the Company; nor is it probable that their trade on the Malabar side of India is much more advantageous. Be this as it may, in the height of their success, they began a settlement at the Cape of Good Hope; a place so advantageously situated for ships in their voyages to and from the East Indies, and abounding so plentifully in every kind of animal and vegetable refreshment, that it may with justice be looked upon as of universal benefit to the commerce of mankind.

The territory adjoining to the Cape, at the extremity of Africa, was originally
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purchased from the Hottentots at a very inconsiderable price; and so mild and inoffensive have that extraordinary race of people been found, that many families of Dutch planters have settled themselves five or six hundred miles in the interior parts, without any other defence than the known gentleness and humanity of the natives. The climate of the Cape town, though as variable perhaps as any on the globe, is yet temperate and pure; and the vegetables, fruits, and every species of provision, which it luxuriantly provides, are in no country to be surpassed. These unusual blessings of nature have made the Cape the general resort of ships of all nations employed in the Indian commerce. Proceeding to India, they pass the promontory of Good Hope, and harbour in safety in False Bay; and on their return from that country repass it, and anchor in Table Bay. In truth, so happily situated is the Cape,
that

that no place could afford so many requisites for a great and commercial city, were an universal traffic to India permitted. The East, in short voyages, would pour its riches into its lap ; Europe and America would again purchase Asiatic manufactures ; and thus a constant intercourse would be established with the different quarters of the world.

The Dutch, by the final destruction of the Portuguese consequence in Ceylon, having acquired a complete and decisive ascendancy over them in every part of Asia, cautiously adhered to the first views which had led them to the East ; and, in a short time, so increased the principal of their original stock, that the dividends made by the proprietors exceeded the most sanguine expectations. Nor did their governments in India, all subordinate to a governor-general and superior council of Batavia, relax in the least from their laudable

able institutions. Batavia kept a close and watchful eye over their actions ; and, though arbitrary in its decrees, still kept the property of its constituents undissipated, and prevented the rise of private fortunes, on the ruin of public welfare.

Could the Company have continued on this solid and lasting basis of good government in India, their prosperity would have been unrivalled, and their influence uncontrollable ; but an opposition to their power at an end, the never-failing concomitant of riches found its way amongst them. Abuse glaringly pervaded every branch of their administration. The Company became neglected, as avaricious adventurers were entrusted with employs ; and a period was thereby put to a career, which, with proper management, might have insured to the United Provinces an irresistible ascendancy in the dominion of the East.

Thus

Thus having gone through an account of the establishments of the Portuguese and Dutch in the East Indies ; of the total ruin of the former, and of the evident declension of the latter, although they still possess the conquests which they originally made, we shall next proceed to the French, who, in the sequel, will be found to demand our peculiar attention.

The first armament fitted out by France for the East Indies was in 1535 ; but the officer unto whom it was entrusted meeting with contrary winds, and a variety of disasters, was driven to the necessity of returning, without having reached the extremity of Africa. Nor did the French entertain any farther thoughts of an Eastern commerce until the year 1601, when two ships were fitted out by a society formed at Bretagne ; but these, likewise, meeting with misfortunes, as well as three other equally unimportant fleets that
that

that were fitted out in the years 1616, 1619, and 1633, all hopes of it were dropped, and nothing more was undertaken till the year 1642, when a society was formed to make a considerable settlement on the island of Madagascar. This island had been frequently visited by the Europeans, who had navigated those seas before the French, and by them had been neglected ; but the French expected to reap a harvest unthought of yet by others. The event was unpropitious to their hopes. Their capital was expended in the undertaking, without one single advantage accruing to them from it. At length, in 1664, in the reign of Lewis XIV. and under the auspices of Colbert, a company was created upon the model of the Dutch. Still, however, they persevered in forming an establishment at Madagascar, and still encountered difficulties which baffled all their schemes. The result was, the loss of a considerable part of their stock, and

and the total relinquishment of a plan, which it was impossible to accomplish.

Following the steps, therefore, of the other powers of Europe, they failed directly to the East, and there procured the privilege from the natives of erecting factories for the protection of their trade. Surat was the place pitched upon for the center of their government ; but the shores of Guzarat were not looked upon as the most eligible situation. Trincomallee, one of the finest harbours in the world, and formed at the Northern extremity of Ceylon, was judiciously preferred ; but there the Dutch were jealous of a neighbour. The French were accordingly repulsed in an attempt they made upon that place. Nor were they more fortunate in endeavouring to keep possession of St. Thomé, on the Coromandel coast, which they had wrested from the Portuguese. The remains of their forces, however, enabled
4 them

them to people the little town of Pondicherry, which they had recently acquired from one of the princes of the country.

Driven from the objects which thus primarily occupied their attention, the French next attempted to form settlements at Siam, Tonquin and Cochin China; but in every trial, either from ill management, or from some other cause, they met with the most singular and unexpected opposition to their interests. Neither could they return to Surat, where they had contracted debts which they were neither willing nor able to discharge. Pondicherry, therefore, became the only establishment which eventually could be of service to them; but this also was taken from them by the Dutch; nor was it restored until the peace of Ryfswick.

From this period, therefore, till the year 1714, the French acquired no footing

ing whatsoever in the East. The Company in Europe disposed of their exclusive charter to a few merchants upon very moderate and reasonable terms ; nor did the purchasers profit by it, although their system was confined to trade. Notwithstanding all these accidents, and the impoverished state of their finances, the Company again solicited and obtained a charter for ten years. Their prospects now, indeed, began to brighten in the East. The cabinet of Versailles wisely granted them effectual support ; and the governor whom they appointed, faithfully and profitably discharged the duties of his trust.

Anterior to the time of which we are now treating, the island of Bourbon, originally discovered by the Portuguese, served as a place of asylum for some Frenchmen who had been part of the colony settled at Madagascar ; this was in 1665 : but Bourbon affording no

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shelter,

shelter whatever for a fleet, the Company determined to take advantage of the neighbouring island of Mauritius, and there established a colony in 1720. The isles of France, as they are in general called, have universally been considered as one of the greatest acquisitions that hath been made by any European power in India. They are looked upon as an admirable nursery for troops ; and to be so fortunately situated, as to insure to the possessors not only excellent harbours for their shipping, but likewise abundance of conveniences for magazines, and all other kinds of military purposes. But may it not with propriety be asked, if India is the field of action, why keep the power of the sword at so considerable a distance ? Mauritius from Hindostan is at least a two-months voyage. Neither is its climate in any respect more salubrious than that of India. Moreover, the expences attendant upon it are unavoidably great ;

nor

nor is there any one single article which it produces that can possibly reimburse the charges it must necessarily occasion. Had it been conceived of importance, the Portuguese or Dutch would undoubtedly have kept it in the days of their prosperity in the East; but they looked upon it as unworthy of their notice. Their power they thought of more utility when ready on the spot; and, perhaps, it had been better for the French if they had followed their example.

From the year 1735, therefore, when La Bourdonnois was sent to the government of the French islands, the affairs of the French became so intimately blended with those of the English, that we shall defer a continuance of our narrative of the French transactions, until we shall have briefly related some of those of the English, prior to the commencement of their rivalry with the French in India.

B O O K II.

IT is a matter that would be of no material consequence to our present purpose to investigate the causes which actuated the first adventurers among the English, or to follow them, step by step, in the many voyages they undertook in the fifteenth century. Suffice it to observe, that at that period they began to build their own ships; that they were the only persons who traded to Muscovy by the way of Archangel; that they carried on a trade with Turkey; that they made many attempts to discover a passage to India by the Northern seas; and at length, that Drake, Stevens, Cavendish, and some others, reached that place, some by the South Sea, and others by doubling the Cape of Good Hope.

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The success of these voyages was sufficient to determine some considerable merchants in London to establish a Company in the year 1600, which obtained an exclusive privilege of trading to the East Indies. As in all undertakings the fears of the majority of mankind preponderate over their hopes, so on the formation of this Company, the apprehension of long voyages and of uncertain returns made the subscription less than the exigencies of the plan seemed indispensably to require. The unnecessary expences of the fleet likewise dissipated a sum, which should have been appropriated to trade. In short, the defects of the institution were so palpable, that nothing but a most fortunate concurrence of events could have rendered it either of advantage to individuals, or of credit to the community at large.

Desirous of forming some settlements in India to perpetuate the advantages

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which their first returns gave them reason to expect, they embraced the most early opportunity of gaining the permission of the natives for so desirable an end. They did not endeavour to establish themselves by conquests : their expeditions were nothing more than the enterprises of humane and equitable traders. They made themselves beloved ; yet they were enabled to erect but few factories, and those even such as could not resist the attacks of their rivals, who were formidable, and who were in possession of large provinces, well fortified places, and good harbours.

By their activity, perseverance, and judicious choice of officers, they, however, soon erected forts, and founded colonies in some of the Eastern islands, and thereby shared in the spice trade with the Dutch. This nation, who had already driven the Portuguese from the Spice islands,

islands, determined not to suffer a people to settle there, whose maritime force, character and government would make them most dangerous rivals. Every expedient was therefore tried to dispossess them; craft and treachery succeeded open violence, and, in short, all India became a scene of the most bloody and obstinate enterprizes from this commercial jealousy. Equal courage appeared on either side, but there was a disparity in their forces; and the English were on the point of sinking, when some moderate people in Europe adopted a plan, which, for the time, accommodated their differences, and gave the produce of some of the islands to the nations in common.

This extraordinary convention, however, met with the fate which might have been expected from it. The Dutch, when informed of it in India, shook off the shackles that were thus imposed upon

their iniquitous dealings by their constituents, and contumaciously exerted all their powers to render it abortive. One instance of which is sufficient to shew the spirit with which all the rest were accomplished. This was the massacre at Amboyna ; a shocking stain in the annals of a civilized nation, and one which it will never be able to expunge !

Though in one part unsuccessful, the English were yet more fortunate in others. Factories were soon established at Mazulipatam, Calicut, and several other ports, and even at Dehli ; and in the year 1612, after hard struggles with the Portuguese, they at length established themselves at Surat. Nor were they inattentive to the trade of Persia ; for having joined their forces to those of Shaw-Abbas the Great, they drove the Portuguese out of Ormus in 1622 ; and, in return, had an exemption granted them by Shaw-Abbas of all duties

duties on such goods as they might import at Bunder Abassi, the harbour of Gombroon.

The more fortunate the Dutch were, in their commercial dealings with the natives of Hindostan, the more alive were their apprehensions on the score of interest. The smallest prospect of advantage which the English acquired, attracted the jealousy of these Republicans. Though masters of the spice trade, they yet could not view the transactions in the gulph of Persia without manifest tokens of displeasure. A fresh competition accordingly began, and continued with a virulence and animosity that threatened ruin in its consequences.

Involved in a complication of distress, and drooping under the pressure of civil and religious discord, which then unhappily tainted the very vitals of the English
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constitution, the servants of the Company could exert but feeble efforts in support of the pretensions which they claimed to the commerce of the East. Public misfortune overwhelmed the small spark of industry which was left. Traffic fled to countries less fanatical and distracted. The India Company suffered in the general wreck, and in that situation was seen prostrate; when desperate politics led an infatuated people to the unparalleled act of shedding the blood of their misguided sovereign.

Cromwell, great and decisive in all his undertakings, had long been displeased with the conduct of the Hollanders; having soon, therefore, found reasons to proceed offensively against them, he did not delay a declaration of war. A pacification, however, shortly took place. The massacre at Amboyna was disavowed. He procured an indemnification for the

descendants of the unhappy victims who perished in that dreadful transaction, and then renewed the privileges of the English Company, anno 1657.

Thus supported at home, their success abroad became considerable ; and nothing was wanting, according to the notion of those days, to compleat their success, but an entrance into Japan, which they attempted. Here, however, they failed. The Dutch had told the Japanese, that the king of the New Comers had married a daughter of the king of the Portuguese, a nation which they abhorred; and admittance in consequence was refused to the English.

Severe as this disappointment was to the Company, they yet found themselves rising from a state of indigence, to one of affluence and credit. Their dividends increased considerably, and every thing promised

mised fair for a continuance of success; but their progress was too rapid to be regarded without envy, and without a general desire for a participation of the benefits they possessed. A new body started up in opposition; and in consequence of a sum of money, a bribe, which Charles the Second was never able to withstand, they procured from him a charter, investing them with powers similar to those which had been granted by his predecessors, exclusively to the old society at its institution.

A competition of this nature could not be otherwise than replete with the most fatal consequences. The two companies becoming enemies to each other, carried on their disputes with a spirit of rancour and animosity, which speedily lowered them in the opinion of the people of Asia. These dissensions were not confined to India only, they seized the minds of men
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in Europe. At last, the two sociétés made advances towards a reconciliation, and united their funds in 1702. From this period the affairs of the Company were carried on with greater propriety, prudence, and dignity.

From this æra, therefore, until the year 1744, when a new war was kindled between France and England, nothing of any material consequence happened in the East. Then, indeed, the most distant corners of the globe beheld the amazing struggles of these rival nations. India, in particular, became the theatre of a long and bloody war; the consequences of which form the immediate object of our present enquiry.

In treating of the affairs of the Carnatic, with which we shall begin, it might be sufficient to commence at that period when the present Nabob, Mahomet-Ally-Cawn,

Cawn, ascended the Mufnud of that country ; but as some few circumstances of moment immediately preceded his accession to the government, we shall briefly observe, that on the death of Subdter-Ally-Cawn, reigning Nabob of Arcot (murdered most treacherously by Moortiz-Ally-Cawn, Kellidar of Vellore, his own near relation ;) Coja-Abdulla-Cawn was appointed by Nizam-Ul-Mulc, who came into the Carnatic immediately on that event, to succeed him in that government ; but he being also carried off in an apoplectic fit the day after his investiture, (though a year and a half had elapsed from his nomination) a new appointment took place in favour of Anawer-Odean-Cawn, the father of the present Nabob, and at that time Nabob of Hydrabad.

The inhabitants of the province of Arcot having for years been accustomed to the government of the family of Subdter-Ally-

Ally-Cawn, were dissatisfied on hearing of the appointment of Anawer-Odean-Cawn ; and the more especially, as a son of Subdter-Ally-Cawn, a minor, was then living. Petitions and remonstrances accordingly flew in from all quarters to the Soubahdar, who, to appease the ill humour of the people, annulled the appointment of Anawer-Odean-Cawn ; leaving him, however, in fact, the sole executive and deliberative authority, as regent of the province, and guardian of the young Siyed-Mahomed-Cawn, (the infant son) whom he proclaimed governor of the Phoufdary of Arcot *.

* Mr. Orme, and other writers, who are in general followed in the text, have been misled in their accounts of this event. Anawer-Odean-Cawn's appointment was never annulled ; nor was Siyed-Mahomed-Cawn ever proclaimed the governor of Arcot. The fact is, Nizam-Ul-Mulc, on appointing Anawer-Odean-Cawn his deputy in the Carnatic, confided to him at the same time, the person, family, and Jagheirs of Siyed-Mahomed-Cawn. A revocation of Anawer's commission never took place.

Fate,

Fate, however, seemed determined to uphold a sanguinary warfare with the whole race of Subdter-Ally-Cawn. Assassinations still were prevalent in Hindostan. The horror and obloquy which, in other countries, are attendant upon so dastardly a blow, were here forgotten in the frequency of the act; nor did the death of the young Siyed, butchered shortly after at an entertainment of one of his friends, affect, more than momentarily, the minds even of those whose voices had been loud in soliciting his appointment to the Soubahdary.

Suspicion, however, was not idle in her conjectures; and the guilt was alternately placed upon Moortiz-Ally-Cawn, whom we have before mentioned, and upon Answer-Odean-Cawn. On the former, from his bad character, his sudden flight from Arcot, where the murder was committed, to his own fortrefs of Vellore, and from
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his avowed ambitious design of rising to the Musnud; and on the latter, from the certainty it gave him of a permanency in the Nabobship.

A deed so atrocious long remained in doubt; but late discoveries have indisputably proved, that the Patan captain, and his followers, who perpetrated the deed, were instigated by no other motives than those of immediate personal revenge.

In this manner stood the governments of the Soubahdary of the Decan. Nizam-Ul-Mulc possessed the supreme authority, as viceroy of the emperor of Hindostan; and Anawer-Odean-Cawn ruled over the province of Arcot as his deputy.

Long distracted by intestine factions, the extensive empire of the Moguls was at this time hastening, with the quickest impetuosity, to that point of declension from

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whence it was never more to rise. The foundation of so mighty a structure being sapped, every day saw some part or other crumbling to destruction. Already had the Soubahdars shook off their allegiance to their sovereign (the Mogul) in every thing but form; it remained, therefore, for the Nabobs simply to follow the paths so successfully trodden by their superiors. One innovation in a system is quickly succeeded by another; nor does the evil stop, until the whole fabric is involved in one general ruin.

Nizam-Ul-Mulc, some time before the period at which we are now arrived, saw clearly the independent views of the Nabobs of Arcot. They had long withheld the revenue which, according to the constitution of the empire, should have come into his treasury; nor had he a prospect of their ever returning to their duty, while a long-established family, such as that of

Subdter

Subdter-Ally-Cawn, remained in possession of the government.

A serious enmity had on this account subsisted for years between the two Durbars ; nor did Nizam-Ul-Mulc refrain altogether from coercive measures. His army he frequently ordered into the field ; and the bordering Mahrattoes, through his means, as regularly rushed into the Carnatic, and thereby disturbed the peace of the government of Subdter-Ally.

At the accession of Anawer-Odean-Cawn to the Musnud of Arcot, Hussain-Doast Cawn, commonly called Chunda-Saheb, a foldier of reputation and of fortune, who had got possession of Trichinopoly by treachery some years before, and who afterwards cut a conspicuous figure in the transactions on the coast of Coromandel, was a state prisoner at Satarrah, the capital of the Mahrattah empire, whither he had

been carried by Morarirow, who had dispossessed him of Trichinopoly, after a long and bloody siege.

The origin of the Mahrattahs, and the particulars of their story, shall be fully detailed hereafter. Suffice it here, that the chout or tribute which they demand of the different potentates of Hindostan, has been arbitrarily established by themselves, and fixed as a permanent annual tribute. This they frequently, from design, allow to run in arrear, and thereby keep up an unremitted claim, which they urge, as their necessities or circumstances happen to require. When they are, therefore, brought to demand this chout, they are never satisfied, as naturally may be supposed, with the sum which is simply owing to them by the province. They know full well that they can acquire it only through the medium of fear; and, therefore, with sword in hand,
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and attended by fire and devastation, they levy such contribution, on both prince and country, as their unbounded rapacity leads them to desire. More of this, however, in the sequel.

Some time before the appointment of Anawer-Odean-Cawn, the French and the English had committed many acts of hostility against each other in the East Indies. Both nations had squadrons in those seas. Pondicherry had been ineffectually besieged by Admiral Boscawen on the one side, and Madras had been taken in 1746 by Mons. La Bourdannois, whom we have already mentioned, on the other. How far rumour is to be depended on, it is not our province to determine; but thus far the French declare, that until the taking of Madras, Anawer-Odean-Cawn, agreeably to the true spirit of Asiatic politics, wavered between the contending powers. However this may be, it is cer-

tain that he soon became more decided, and took a steady line in favour of the English : that he assisted them with troops against the French ; and that his eldest son, Mauphuz-Cawn, attacked the French forces at Madras, and at St. Thomé, during the siege of Madras, although he came off with serious losses in both engagements.

Dupleix, who was at this time in the government of Pondicherry, and who had long studied the characters of the different courts of Hindostan, their intrigues and their various interests, was the first man of the two European nations, who conceived hopes of extending the advantage of his employers, by taking a lead in the politics of the country. By close attention, he had acquired so perfect a knowledge of all their views and connections, that he was convinced it would be in his power, with the aid of the troops which
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had been brought to Pondicherry in the course of the war, to attain at least a principal influence in the affairs of the Decan ;—very possibly to manage them as he pleased. His daring spirit, which prompted him to great attempts, gave additional strength to these reflections ; and an opportunity soon offered for carrying his project into execution.

The politic Nizam-Ul-Mulc, Soubahdar of the Decan, was now no more *. His prudence and talents had kept that part of

* This prince was descended from a noble family of Samarcund. He was appointed to the viceroyalty of the Decan in the year 1713. The Soubahdaries of Malwa, Owd, Bijapore, and Decan, had been at different periods invested in his Predecessors. He himself was at one time possessed of the high office of Vizier of the empire, together with the governments of Decan, Guzurat, and Malwa. Nadir Shaw, on his conquest of Hindostan, manifested a peculiar attachment to him ; and appointed him, in addition to his other dignities, to the office of Ummear-Ul-Umrah, or captain general of the Imperial armies. He died in the year of the Higeira 1161 or 1748.

India, over which he ruled, in a flourishing state. It was now doomed to experience all the horrors and misery of civil war. On the death of this great prince, his eldest son, Gazoe-Deen-Cawn, was at Dehli, where, in addition to his appointment of commander in chief of the Mogul's army, he held some of the first civil offices of the empire. His absence, however, was productive of the most dreadful calamities to his country. Though known to be appointed successor to his father, at the same time that he held the whole executive authority of his sovereign in his hands, yet so infatuated were his own brother and his nephew with the wild suggestions of ambition, that, neglectful of his right, and inattentive to their own safety, they set up claims of sovereignty in the Decan, and rebelliously disputed the government of a country, in which they could be considered in no other light than that of subjects to one and the same master.

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From this contention, therefore, Dupleix expected to reap the amplest harvest. Either party he was convinced would gladly embrace an offer of European assistance; nor was he without hopes, that, in the end, some happy exertion, might throw the whole coast of Coromandel under the control of the French government.

Muzzuffer-Jung, the nephew, at this time joined by Chunda-Saheb, who had been restored to his liberty, implored the assistance of the French; and, in return, promised Dupleix every thing that the most ardent ambition could desire. Neither was Dupleix backward in compliance. It was a point of no consideration with him, which of the competitors was right. His aim was dominion; and by whatever mode acquired, it was alike indifferent, so that his darling purpose was ultimately answered. In the course of the
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agreement finally determined on between these daring men, the province of Arcot was allotted to Chunda-Saheb, their mutual friend, with the title of Nabob; and saneds were accordingly granted him by Muzzuffer-Jung, with all the form and official stamp of the Soubahdary of the Decan.

Anawer-Odean-Cawn, peaceably in possession of a government to which he had been legally appointed by Nizam-Ul-Mulc, was astonished at the appearance of a competitor; and one with no better pretensions than the nomination of an usurper, as yet even unfettled himself in the authority to which he rebelliously aspired. The justice of his cause did not, however, make Anawer-Odean-Cawn inattentive to those means which alone could secure him against the combination of his enemies. From the favours which he had already conferred upon the English, he had

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had good reason to suppose they would not refuse him their warmest assistance. Nor was he so bad a politician as not to perceive, that self-preservation alone would naturally incline them to join in a cause, with which their own safety was materially connected. The event answered his expectations.

Thus was there an alliance formed by him and the English against Muzzuffer-Jung, nominal Soubahdar of the Decan, Chunda-Saheb, nominal Nabob of Arcot, and the French, under the government of Dupleix.

Nafir-Jung, second son of the deceased Nizam-Ul-Mulc, and brother of Gazy-Ul-Deen-Cawn, was still at Aurungabad, the capital of the Decan, endeavouring, in defiance of his brother's right of primogeniture, and even of his sub-

sequent appointment, to establish himself in the Soubahship of the Decan. His adherents were still superior to those of Muzzuffer-Jung *.

Led on by these motives, the objects of contention with the different parties were certainly of the first magnitude. Each could bring considerable aid in support of his cause. Their powers were extensive; and the whole empire of Hindostan was likely to be agitated in the conflict. Nasir-Jung and Muzzuffer-Jung, in rebellious opposition to their lawful prince, struggled against each other for the Soubahdary of the

* Nasir-Jung had, during the life of his father, manifested a like ambitious disposition, Nizam-ul-Mulc had left him his naib, or deputy, during a visit he had made to Dehli. Nasir-Jung seized on the occasion, and proclaimed himself independent. The old prince was in consequence obliged to quit Dehli with precipitation. He came up with his son near Aurungabad, and an engagement ensued. Nasir-Jung was defeated, wounded in several places, and taken prisoner. This happened in the 1154 of the Higeira, or 1741.

Decan.

Decan. Anawer-Odean-Cawn and Chunda-Saheb, for the Nabobship of Arcot ; and lastly, the English and the French, for their very existence in the East.

In a cause of this nature, where so many passions and so many interests were necessarily combined, an inactive conduct could not be long expected. Negotiation could yield nothing of satisfaction to either party. Their only alternative, therefore, was to take up arms.

To follow an undisciplined people through fields of blood, is a task too unpleasant for the mind to dwell upon. The mode of war in Hindostan is too generally known to need any particular mention of it on our part.

Fortune, long doubtful to which side she should lean, at length flattered the
French

French cause with a prospect of success. Their forces came off victorious, after an obstinate engagement on the Plains of Amboor in 1749; in which Anawer-Odean-Cawn was slain, and his eldest son, Maphuz-Cawn, taken prisoner. This event, promising as it appeared at first, proved in the end to be of but little advantage to their affairs.

In the scene of joy and exultation which this victory occasioned in the allied army of France, and of terror and dismay which it as instantaneously occasioned in that of its opponents, Mahomet-Ally-Cawn, the second son of Anawer-Odean-Cawn, was hastening to Trichinopoly. Escaped from the dangers which surrounded him, this young prince, immediately on the death of his father, and the capture of his elder brother, fled from the field of battle with the few followers who still stood by him, and turned his thoughts to ward off the
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impending ruin which threatened his dominions.

Naturally prompt, and determined in his resolves, he hesitated not a moment on the line it was most adviseable for him to take. He found the government of Arcot unexpectedly fallen into his hands. The great men of his father's court, who had survived the last defeat, flocked to his standard; and, with these retainers, but an almost-exhausted treasury, he boldly proclaimed his intention of continuing a war that had been levied in injustice against his father.

Early taught to look upon the English with a partial eye, Mahomet-Ally soon sent ambassadors to acquaint them of his accession to the Musnud. He confirmed to them all the privileges granted them by his father; and without the smallest hesitation, entered into a bond of amity
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ANALYSIS OF INDIA.

and alliance, that, on his part, hath continued ever since most inviolably sacred.

Amid pretensions so variable and disjointed as were those of the French party, it is not matter of surprise that sudden jealousies should arise, or that a rivalry, highly detrimental to the general interest, should ensue. Each aiming at a particular object, which, when attained, unless subjected implicitly to the common cause, would necessarily involve them in endless controversy, discord, and dispute; while the Asiatic pride, awakened by success, would but ill brook with the dictatorial spirit of an European, such as Dupleix. In short, from whatever reason it might proceed, a reciprocal distrust and animosity speedily took place. Muzzuffer-Jung, galled with the French yoke, or tired of the visionary system he had adopted, fled to his uncle Nasir-Jung, whom he at once publicly acknowledged to be
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his superior, and Soubahdar of the Decan, while the French troops, accompanied by Chunda-Saheb, took a contrary rout, and proceeded on their way to Pondicherry.

In this state of separation, the active genius of Dupleix, as yet unwearied in its exertions, fell upon a new, though dreadful expedient to accomplish its views; this was by a dastardly affassination, to get the disposal of the Soubahdary of the Decan into his own immediate power. The bare recital of an act of this atrocious dye, is fully sufficient. The scheme was artfully laid, and Nasir Jung, in the midst of his camp, fell a sacrifice to the machinations of Dupleix, and to the treachery of his own vassals. This happened the year succeeding the death of Anawer-Odean-Cawn.

When affassinations take place in Hindostan, which for many centuries have
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been so common as in general to be little noticed, it is not unusual to see the heir apparent mounting from a dungeon to the Musnud. This was the case in the present, instance. Muzzuffer-Jung, who had expected treatment of a different nature from that which he experienced, had been immediately thrown into confinement on his submission to Nasir-Jung; and in that situation was found, when he was rescued from his shackles, and proclaimed, by the partizans of Dupleix, Soubahdar of the Decan.

From whence this act of kindness could have proceeded in Dupleix, after the separation of the French and Chunda-Saheb's interests from those of Muzzuffer-Jung, is a matter of conjecture that cannot easily be solved. Certain it is, however, that the Nabobs of Cudapah and Canole, both of whom were Patans by birth, and who, with Dupleix, had meditated

tated the blow against Nafir-Jung's life, very early demanded of Muzzuffer-Jung the rewards which had been promised them on the perpetration of the deed.

Rid of his immediate rival in Nafir-Jung, and Gazy-Ul-Deen-Cawn being still at Dehli, Muzzuffer-Jung no longer considered it as incumbent on him to abide by the agreements into which he had entered ; wherefore, assuming all the dignity and arrogance of a superior lord, he positively declined compliance with their demands ; but, at the same time, proffered them certain conditions, which rather than return unrewarded, he imagined they would accept.

Of all the tribes of Hindostan, the Patans are the most daring and high spirited. Enthusiastic in the principles of personal courage and revenge, which they imbibe in their earliest infancy, they never forgive

an injury. Danger hath no terrors to men habituated to contemn it. Not even the certainty of death hath been able to withhold their revenge, when they have fancied their honour premeditatedly stained. Unfortunately for Muzzuffer-Jung, the very men he had to deal with were of this disposition. The insult he had offered, aggravated by a treacherous breach of promise, was more than they could brook. They, therefore, determined upon his fall; and accomplished it; having him assassinated shortly after his accession *.

No sooner was the death of Muzzuffer-Jung made known, than the different powers of the French party were involved

* The countries of Canole and Cudipah, not long after this, were conquered from the successors of the Patans; and, together with the province of Serah, were governed independently by the Mahrattah Morarirow. They now form part of the dominions of the son of Hyder-Ally-Cawn.

in consternation. He had originally been the prop of their ambition, and on him were fixed their ultimate hopes and expectations: luckily, however, for their cause, the conduct of Mons. Buffi, commander of the French forces in the army of Muzzuffer-Jung, extricated them from the impending ruin.

Roused by the exigency of affairs, this able man saw that nothing was to be gained by inactivity. He summoned, therefore, the principal officers of the army, bewailed with them the loss which they had sustained; held out to them a picture of the situation they were in, exposed from without to the depredations of their enemies, and from within to all the distractions of intrigue and powerful cabal; and then, without leaving them time for more temperate reflection, proposed to them the raising of Salabit-Jung, brother to the late Nafir-Jung, to the Musnud,

in preference to the son of Muzzuffer-Jung, who was still an infant.

Salabit-Jung was accordingly declared successor to his nephew; and immediately on his assumption of the reins of government, confirmed in the amplest manner to the French, the different grants which had been made to them by his predecessors.

Fortune thus attending them in all their steps, the French rolled in a plenitude of power. In the mean time the young Nabob of Arcot, Mahomet-Ally-Cawn, was closely confined to the walls of his fort of Trichinopoly, dispossessed of every district in the Carnatic, and dependent upon no other resources than the fortitude of his own mind, and the assistance of his friends the English.

The history of the war on the coast of Coromandel hath already employed the pens of eminent historians. Exertions of the greatest moment alternately appeared in the operations of the European armies. Victory declared sometimes for the one, and sometimes for the other ; but, in the event the English were the conquerors. Success would not, however, have been so fluctuating, had the English had more troops, or the French better officers.

From the situation of affairs, as they have been thus related, it soon became evident to the discerning part of mankind, that the disturbances in Asia would never come to a conclusion, unless peace was first established in Europe ; nor was it at the same time less to be apprehended, that the flame, which had been confined to India for several years, might spread its baleful influence farther. The ministers of France and England, however, obviated this dan-

ger, by enjoining the two companies to fix on certain terms of agreement. They made a conditional treaty; which began by suspending all hostilities at the beginning of the year 1755, and was to end by establishing between them a perfect equality of territory, of strength, and of trade, on the coast of Coromandel and Orixa. This stipulation had not yet received the sanction of the courts of London and Versailles, when greater interests kindled a fresh war between the two nations. The news of this reached the East, when the English were engaged in a very troublesome contest with the Soubahdar of Bengal. Had the French been then in the same state they were some years before, they would have united their interests with those of the natives. Unluckily for them, they allowed themselves to be amused, until the successes of their rivals emboldened them to attack and seize upon their capital settlement of

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Chandernagore. The taking of this place was followed by the ruin of all the factories dependent on it ; and put the English in a condition to send men, money, provisions, and ships to the coast of Coromandel, where the French were just arrived with considerable land and sea forces.

Before the commencement of this war, the French Company, besides their territories of Pondicherry and Karical, possessed, on the coast of Coromandel and Orixá, the five fertile provinces to the northward of Madras, called the Northern Circars. Dupleix had likewise been appointed, by the usurper of the Decan, viceroy of the Carnatic, one of the most flourishing provinces of the Mogul empire. One sixth part only of the revenues of which was to be paid into the treasury of Salabit-Jung, the nominal Soubahdar of the Decan, and the rest to be
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the property of the French Company in perpetuity.

If the French ministry, therefore, and the directors of the French Company, who alternately supported and neglected their power in India, had but been capable of a firm and settled resolution, they might have sent orders to their agents to give up all their remote conquests, and to keep to the important settlement of the Carnatic. It was alone sufficient to give the French a firm establishment,—a close and contiguous state, a prodigious quantity of merchandise, provisions for their fortified towns, and revenues capable of maintaining a body of troops, which would have put them in a condition to defy the jealousy of their neighbours, and the hatred of their enemies. Unfortunately for them, the court of Versailles ordered that the Carnatic should be given up. Dupleix, the only man who could support

support the interests of his country, was also disgracefully recalled, and another appointed to conduct the Indian war, whose temper could never adapt itself to circumstances. This was Lally, the primary cause of the declension of the French interests in India, of his own ruin, and of that of his family. The evacuation of Seringham, by his order, which island divides the Coleroon into two branches near Trichinopoly, was a principal cause of the disasters that attended the war of France with the Rajah of Tanjore. Mazulipatam and the Northern Circars were lost by his giving up the alliance of Salabit-Jung. And at last Pondicherry was taken and destroyed by the English, grown powerful from success, and from the distractions of the French government.

B O O K III.

IN bringing these matters, for the sake of perspicuity, into one view, we have necessarily been obliged to anticipate our subject. To return, therefore, from whence we digressed.

From the year 1752, when Major Lawrence arrived from England, and was invested with the chief command of the English forces, the fortune of the Nabob Mahomet-Ally-Cawn began to wear a brighter aspect. Several powers, awakened by the aspiring greatness of the French, readily entered into an alliance with him; so that in a short time, after the junction of the English forces, he found himself at the head of an army of 20,000 horse, and of 20,000 foot, exclusive of the force the English had sent to his assistance.

The

The army of the French league, headed by Mess. Law, Dautuiel, and Chunda-Saheb, was likewise of considerable strength; and the posts which they possessed on the plains of Trichionopoly, on the island of Seringham, and on the northern side of the river Coleroon, were such as gave them every possible advantage. Notwithstanding this, the French constantly gave way before the English: in almost every engagement they were worsted; and, at length, a period was seemingly put to a war so unequally carried on, by Mons. Law's surrendry of the Pagoda of Jumbakistna, with a force of Europeans in it superior even to the whole of what Major Lawrence had under his command.

The scale thus turned against the French, Chunda-Saheb found himself deserted and forlorn. His retainers had all provided for their own safety, whilst he alone was left,

was left, in the center of his nominal dominions, to seek the protection of an enemy. Wary, however, in the choice of him, whom he conceived he could trust with the greatest security, he, after much deliberation, pitched upon Monaick-Jie, an officer of reputation, and, at that time, commander in chief of the Rajah of Tanjore's forces in the allied army of the Nabob.

How far the truth of the assertion may be credited, it is not in our power to determine; thus much, however, rumour declares, that Monaick-Jie solemnly engaged himself by oath on his sword and dagger, the most hallowed obligation of an Indian, to preserve inviolably from danger the person of Chunda-Saheb. And indeed, when the difficulties in which Chunda-Saheb was involved come dispassionately to be considered, it is not at all improbable that he should demand a security of that
sacred

sacred nature, before he committed himself to the mercy of a professed enemy, and one who was acting immediately under the command of Mahomet-Ally-Cawn. Be this, however, as it may, Chunda-Saheb threw himself into the hands of Monaick-Jie, and was by him most inhumanly put to death.

The Nabob thus unexpectedly relieved from an ambitious, able, and spirited competitor, peace, it was hoped, would once more visit the almost-desolate Carnatic; but peace had fled to a happier clime: war, with all her train of evils, presented herself anew to that miserable country, and from a quarter too the least to be expected.

In the midst of his distresses, and when reduced to the solitary fortrefs of Trichinopoly, the Nabob had anxiously cast his eyes around to see from whence he might
derive

rive relief—Myfore and the Mahrattahs were the only powers who could effectually befriend him. To them therefore he applied ; and, in consequence of considerable promises, prevailed upon the Dallaway, or regent of Myfore, to lead his army into the Carnatic ;, and upon Morarirow, a bordering Mahrattah general, to do the same.

Among other points of lesser moment, and with an incaution, of which he had afterwards reason to repent, the Nabob made a promise to the Myforean (who took advantage of his situation to extort it) of the fortrefs of Trichinopoly ; thereby giving him, in effect, the key into the Carnatic, and opening a road for the depredations of the Myforeans whenever they should be inclined to revisit his dominions.

Agitated

Agitated by various conflicts, the Nabob, when called upon for the fulfillment of this promise, knew not on what to resolve. On the one hand he saw inevitable ruin entailed upon his country, should he comply; and on the other, the calamities of a bloody war brought upon him by his own indiscretion.

In this state of mind he attempted every thing that human wisdom could suggest to gain a renunciation of his promise from the Dallaway. He offered him largesses to a considerable amount; or, if those should not accord with his desires, any other compensation which he might deem equivalent. All, however, was ineffectual: the Dallaway knew too well the value of a fortress situated like Trichinopoly; and therefore positively insisted on the performance of the engagement.

Driven thus from all hopes of an amicable compromise, the Nabob, as the governor of a province dependent and appertaining to the Mogul empire, reluctantly resolved to bear with the enmity of the Myforean, and elude the promise he had given, rather than to dismember from his dominions so very important a garrison; and signified the same to the Dallaway.

The regent, irritated at a conduct so unexpected, attempted by treachery to get possession of a place virtually his by right of compact. All his efforts were, however, without effect. The English, who garrisoned the fort for the Nabob, baffled all his attempts, and thereby drove him to the accomplishment of a scheme he had sometime meditated with Morarirow, of joining his forces to those of the French, while the Mahrattah was on some pretence or other to do the same.

A storm

A storm of such magnitude, thus gathering over the yet-unsettled government of the Nabob, and of his allies the English, filled his mind with uneasiness. From his first accession to the Musnud he had experienced a regular combination of unpropitious circumstances; nor could the many disasters which had befallen the enemies of his house secure to him tranquillity. The hydra of malevolence had firmly taken its stand against him: one head lopped off, another succeeded in its room.

We have already seen the causes which actuated the Dallaway of Mysore to the part he was determined to pursue, and candour compels us to acknowledge they were just *. The Mahrattah, however,

* One of Hyder-Ally-Cawn's reasons, alledged by himself, for invading the Carnatic, in the two several wars he has since carried on in that country, was this breach of promise on the part of Mahomet-Ally-Cawn.

was destitute of every excuse ; his defection originated in baseness. It is true, indeed, that a mercenary will ever fight for him who pays the best : but the treachery of this unprincipled freebooter was without a plea that could even serve to amuse the world. Disappointed in his view of seizing upon Trichinopoly, at a time that he was invested both by the Nabob and Dallaway with the sacred trust of umpire of the differences which subsisted between them touching that fortress, he no longer contained himself within the bounds of moderation. The Nabob's treasury yielded not the harvest he had been accustomed to receive ; and therefore, without a thought of the engagements he was about to break, he cheerfully chimed in with the Mysorean in his plan of offensive measures against the Carnatic.

The

The Myforean and Mahrattah having thus openly declared in favour of France, their army soon took the field, and a war commenced, to the full as bloody as that which was just concluded. The whole of the year 1753 was witness to the unremitting exertions of both parties. Trichinopoly plains, and the island of Seringham, were in general the scenes of action. Each, while the war lasted, boasted of its superiority : at its conclusion the English were victorious.

Still rising amid the difficulties he had to combat with, and in every adverse stroke of fortune finding a resource in his own genius, Dupleix was yet a formidable enemy. The death of Chunda-Saheb had given him a serious blow, but it had not depressed the ardour of his spirit. Invested with the dignity of the Soubahdar's deputy in the Car-

natic, he fought with caution for a person qualified to be the successor of Chunda-Saheb. Rajah-Saheb, son of Chunda-Saheb, would in all probability have obtained the nomination, had he not been found deficient in those abilities which the importance of the trust required. Moortiz-Ally-Cawn was therefore the only man whose wealth, experience and connections could in any measure entitle him to a preference; and he accordingly was appointed Nabob of the Carnatic; subordinate, however, to the Soubahdar, Dupleix.

The character of this man (Moortiz-Ally) hath been already slightly touched upon. The shadow of authority was not, however, sufficient for an ambition that in many instances had waded through blood. As Kelidar of Vellore, he found himself more independent than as the instrument

ment of an European's policy ; and therefore, a few days after his acceptance of the Nabobship, without assigning any cause whatever, he disencumbered himself of a nominal consequence, which he found neither profitable nor agreeable.

The French interests at the court of Salabit-Jung, and in the Northern Circars, though they at first received a shock from the death of Muzzuffer-Jung, were at this time risen to the meridian of prosperity. Bussy insinuated himself closely into the Soubahdar's favour, and, in some instances, had rendered him such essential service, as in reality enabled him to get possession of the whole of the Soubahdar's authority ; an authority which he wisely turned, not only to the advantage of his employers, but likewise to that of the officers and men who were fighting under his command. A sudden

reverse of fortune was, however, shortly to derange this extensive influence.

Gazy-Ul-Deen-Cawn, whom we have already mentioned, being at length released from the more important duties of his station at Delhi, marched at the head of a considerable army into the Decan, and demanded from his brother, Salabit-Jung, a formal and immediate abdication of the Musnud of that kingdom.

Salabit-Jung, however, emboldened by the presence of his European allies, still kept possession of his usurped authority, and quickly assembling his forces, took the field, with a view of stopping the progress of Gazy-Ul-Deen-Cawn by the sword.

Buffy, who never lost sight of the interests of his nation, immediately perceived the ruin that would inevitably follow,

low, should Salabit-Jung either give way to importunity, or be defeated: his former efforts were therefore redoubled. His attacks with the French battalion were impetuous and animated; nor was he inattentive to the less hazardous, though more certain, operations of flattery and address. In short, so completely did he determine Salabit-Jung in the resolution of opposing his brother, that he made the Soubahdar believe he had nothing to apprehend, with such assertions of his cause, from even the assembled forces of the whole empire, which were now combining against him.

Success, however, was very doubtful in the issue; and Gazy-Ul-Deen-Cawn daily approaching towards Aurungabad, a conference was demanded by Salabit-Jung. Hither Gazy-Ul-Deen-Cawn came in all the confidence of self-security and good faith.

Fate,

Fate, however, had not yet finished with the devoted family of Nizam-Ul-Mulk; the unfortunate Gazy-Ul-Deen was invited to fall by treachery. His food was poisoned, and that, too, by the hands of one who should rather have stretched them forth to have effected a reconciliation, than have blackened them by the murder of a person so nearly allied to her: this was the execrable mother of the more execrable Salabit-Jung.

Salabit-Jung, however, did not accomplish, by this infamous transaction, his meditated purpose. The Emperor of Dehli appointed a successor to the deceased, a man in whom were blended all those shining qualities which foretold that he would be a conspicuous character in the East. This was Schi-Abiddin-Cawn, son of Gazy-Ul-Deen-Cawn; and afterwards distinguished by the same title.

Schi-

Schi-Abiddin had, however, as yet too much business on his hands at Dehli to think of punishing his uncle. The deposing of Ahmed-Shaw, and raising of Allum-Geer to the throne of the world, were points that required his utmost attention ; nor were they to be accomplished without much difficulty and exertion.

Monsieur Buffy, no sooner rid of one invasion, than threatened in this manner, though at a distance, with another, and exposed in the Soubahdar's court to all the machinations of an unprincipled set of courtiers, soon saw the necessity of obtaining in reserve some certain resource, for the payment of the troops the French might bring into the field, should hostilities be commenced between the Soubahdar and his nephew. He accordingly applied to the Soubahdar for a grant of the five Northern Circars, which we have already mentioned.

The

The alarm occasioned by this application, among the sardars and omrahs, was such as Buffly had reason to expect. Intrigue and cabal were set on foot against him, but luckily with no effect. The Soubahdar granted his request, and thereby invested in the French company the sovereignty of those countries,

Thus did the French, by the abilities of this officer, acquire a valuable extent of dominion in the North, for the mere promise of an inconsiderable military assistance; and in the South, the government of the Carnatic, with a trifling deduction of a sixth part of the revenues, through the intrigues of the Marquis Dupleix. Unfortunately, however, for that nation, these acquisitions had been bestowed upon them by usurpers; not one legal grant appearing from the court of Dehli to authenticate the gifts.

In

In tracing the progress of the French and English with their allies on the coast of Coromandel; we have aimed at perspicuity. A general view of the political transactions of each nation was all we conceived necessary. More minute accounts are to be met with in the histories of that æra. We shall, therefore, draw this our present subject to a conclusion with merely subjoining, that the French and their party were ultimately worsted and driven from the Carnatic; that Pondicherry was destroyed, and Vellore, defended by Moor-tiz-Ally-Cawn, taken after a vigorous resistance; that the grants of the Northern Circars to France were annulled by the court of Dehli, and that the perpetual sovereignty of them was vested in the English in 1765, when the Emperor likewise invested Mahomed-Ally-Cawn with the Soubahdary of the Carnatic, independent of the Decan. Previous to which, how-

ever, the crowns of England and France, in the definitive treaty of Paris 1763, had acknowledged Mahomet-Ally-Cawn to be the lawful Nabob of the Carnatic, and Salabit-Jung to be the lawful Soubahdar of the Decan *.

From the year 1765, therefore, until the commencement of the present war, the English and the French continued in a state of pacification in the East. France had no longer a chartered company for conducting its Indian commerce. The

* The power and consequence of the Decan received a severe check during the Nizamut of Salabit-Jung. The Mahrattahs then wrested from it, independent of Jaghires to the amount of sixty lacks of rupees per annum, several places in the Soubahs of Bidar and Bijahpoor; together with the important fortresses of Bijahpoor, Aseer and Dowlatabad. The fort of Ahmednuggar also fell into their hands. Nay, so greatly was it reduced, that the Bhow, who commanded on the part of the Mahrattahs, formed the design of expelling the Mahommedans entirely from Hindostan, and was very near accomplishing his purpose.

trade was open, and government possessed the miserable remains of the French greatness in Hindostan. The English, on the contrary, continued increasing in wealth and in prosperity. The ball of fortune was at their feet, and they failed not to avail themselves of the advantages of their situation. Trouble and uneasiness, indeed, sometimes found their way amongst them ; but to their own imprudence they must attribute their misfortunes, especially on the coast of Coromandel, where, by a strange perversion of politics, they some years ago deemed it expedient to proceed against Hyder-Ally-Cawn ; a war planned and conducted with indiscretion, and which concluded in the disgrace of the English name*.

In the general review, which will be given in the sequel, of the political con-

* This alludes to the war of 1767. The calamitous one of 1780 is mentioned in another place.

nections of the English East-India Company, the powers on the coast of Coromandel will necessarily take a conspicuous lead. For the present, therefore, we shall turn our enquiries to the ample possessions which the English have acquired in the provinces of Bengal, Bahar and Orixá.

To begin with an account of their first establishment in those parts, and to follow them in the progress of their commercial undertakings, would be much more curious than instructive. Suffice it, that, encouraged by the princes of the country, they carried on a valuable traffic with Bengal until the year 1757, when, by some misconduct on their side, they drew upon their slender colony the arms of the Nabob Serajah-UI-Dowlah; a prince powerful and tyrannic, and one whose vengeance they severely felt.

Driven

Driven from their factory at Calcutta, they some time continued in a most deplorable situation. The fiends of rapine and destruction were let loose upon their defenceless heads. The lives of many were destroyed, and the effects of others were plundered without mercy.

Roused at the distress of their sister colony, and powerfully assisted by the Nabob of the Carnatic, who from change of fortune again began to breathe, the presidency of Madras sent a reinforcement to their aid. Admiral Watson, who at this time commanded a fleet in the Indian seas, and who with Colonel Clive had just crushed the power of Angria on the Malabar coast, appeared to their relief. The conquests which these officers had to make were easy, when comparatively considered with those they had so lately concluded. Calcutta surrendered on their appearing before it; and Chandernagore, the French settlement on the op-

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posite

posite banks of the Houghley, capitulated after a warm bombardment from the fleet.

The English thus re-established in Bengal, a treaty of peace and alliance was concluded with Serajah-Ul-Dowlah. Treaties, however, had nearly been ineffectual. Serajah-Ul-Dowlah still smarted from the disgrace his arms had met with; and certain intelligence confirmed the general suspicion of his having formed the design of extirpating them by treachery. This occasioned fresh hostilities; and the exigency of affairs pointing out the necessity of some grand exertion, it was shortly resolved to depose Serajah-Ul-Dowlah, and to place upon the Musnud of those provinces Meer-Jaffier-Ally-Cawn.

A negotiation was accordingly begun, and a treaty entered into, by which Meer-Jaffier agreed, when the revolution should be accomplished, to pay into the India Company's treasury one million two hundred

dred thousand pounds; to the European sufferers six hundred thousand pounds; the same sum to the navy and army; about two hundred and fifty thousand pounds to the natives of the country; and an hundred thousand pounds to the Armenians.

Every thing being agreed upon, Colonel Clive marched with his little army and attacked the Nabob, whose forces he entirely defeated. Serajah-Ul-Dowlah was himself taken prisoner, and his death followed soon after. The battle of Plassey happened on the 23d of June, 1757; and on the 30th of June, Colonel Clive seated Jaffier-Ally-Cawn on the Musnud, which he enjoyed until the year 1760, when he was deposed in favour of his son-in-law, Cossim-Ally-Cawn.

The causes assigned by the aiders of this second revolution were, amongst others, these: that Meer-Jaffier was of a

temper extremely tyrannical and avaricious, at the same time that he was of an indolent turn, and surrounded by slaves and flatterers who were hostile to the English ; that he attributed the ill success of his affairs to imaginary plots and contrivances against him, and sacrificed lives without mercy to the excess of his jealousy ; that the frequent executions, perpetrated without the least reason, made him the dread and detestation of all good men ; that he became a prey to his servants, who, knowing such a government could not stand long, fought only to make themselves rich by oppressing his subjects ; and lastly, that the unusual scarcity and dearth of provisions in the capital of the Nabob's country, and in all the provinces, was occasioned by the heavy and exorbitant taxes laid upon them : all which considerations called aloud for an immediate change of system.

However this may be, Cossim-Ally began his reign by increasing the number

of his troops, and disciplining them in the European manner; and esteeming his capital Moorshedabaud, the scene of his predecessor's fall, too near the English settlements, he removed his court to Rajah-Mahal, that the place of his residence might be farther from the reach of a people, who, in the event, might find as many pretences for deposing him, as they had done for violating their former treaties with his father-in-law.

All Coffin's measures shewed his desire to establish himself on a foundation less precarious than the friendship of the English. And, lest the English should grow jealous of his increasing power, and endeavour to reduce his authority, by subjecting the Soubahship to its primitive dependency on the Mogul, and thereby oblige him to pay into the royal treasury the revenues of the provinces, he set every engine at work to instil into the king's mind a distrust and apprehension of them.

This, though effected for the moment, was not long undiscovered, and incensed the Mogul so much against him, that he voluntarily made an offer to the Company of the Dewannee of those countries. Besides which, he promised to confirm them in the possession of the lands of Burdwan, Midnapore and Chittagong, which they then held, provided they would assist him in re-ascending his throne, and in recovering such of his territories as were in the hands of his rebellious subjects. Shujah-Ul-Dowlah, the Nabob of Owd and Vizier of the empire, offered the assistance of his forces to accomplish the restoration of his sovereign.

Negotiations of this tendency soon awakened the jealousy of Cossim-Ally-Cawn. From his first accession he had industriously, though surely not without reason, involved all his officers in contests with the English, and laboured to make his own enmity the common cause of his subjects. The breach was therefore

fore too wide to admit of lenient applications: all possibility of an accommodation was at an end; and the inhuman murder of Mr. Amyatt, the gentlemen of his family, and his attendants, though returning under the faith of a passport to Calcutta, gave the first signal of hostilities.

War was accordingly declared against Coſſim-Ally, and a proclamation iſſued for the reſtoration of Meer-Jaffier-Ally-Cawn to the Soubahdary.

Nothing extraordinary occurred in the tranſactions of this war. Coſſim-Ally was driven from his dominions; but not till he had taken Patna, and maſſacred in cold blood the whole of the Engliſh garrifon, amounting to one hundred and fifty, Mr. Fullarton excepted. Meer-Jaffier-Ally-Cawn was once more ſeated on the Muſnud. Theſe events happened in the beginning of the year 1763.

The Mogul was at this time with Shujah-Ul-Dowlah, unto whom an agent was sent by the English, soliciting an alliance, and requiring his assistance against the person and adherents of Cossim, whom they threatened with destruction.

Contrary to expectation, a reverse of system, with respect to European politics, had already taken place in the court of Owd. The king and Shujah-Ul-Dowlah, on farther consideration, had resolved not to acquiesce in the views of the English; but steadfastly and resolutely to support the fallen fortunes of Cossim-Ally; and to restore him, if possible, to the government of Bengal.

In consequence of this, hostilities speedily commenced between the English, the Mogul, and Shujah-Ul-Dowlah; nor was it until Shujah-Ul-Dowlah was totally discomfited at the battle of Buxar, in October 1764, that overtures of peace were

were sent by him to the English government.

Previous to which, however, the Mogul, who had been nothing better than a state-prisoner in Shujah-Ul-Dowlah's camp, had written to Colonel Munro, the commander of the English forces, requesting that he might be taken under his protection ; and, in return, promising him a grant of the country of Shujah-Ul-Dowlah, or any other compensation he might demand on the part of the East-India Company.

Nor did he stop here ; for having found an opportunity to escape from the camp of Shujah-Ul-Dowlah, he presented himself before the English General, and was in consequence taken under the protection of his flag. At the same time friendly overtures from Shujah-Ul-Dowlah were rejected, because he would not deliver up either Cossim-Ally, or the barbarous Sumro, who had perpetrated the
massacre

massacre at Patna; the war was consequently rekindled, and with vigour and animosity on both sides.

Worn out with age and infirmity, Meer-Jaffier-Ally-Cawn departed this life at Moorshedabaud the 14th of January 1765; and, in the February following was succeeded in the Musnud by his son Nudjim-Ul-Dowlah.

Lord Clive, in the beginning of this year, having again assumed the reins of government in Bengal, the Council invested him, conjointly with General Carnac, with power to conclude a treaty of pacification and alliance with the Mogul and Shujah-Ul-Dowlah. A solemn and definitive treaty was accordingly ratified with each of those princes.

Shujah-Ul-Dowlah bound himself for payment of fifty lacks of rupees to the Company, as an indemnification for the expences of the war. Cossim-Ally and

his retainers having fled into the Rohilla country, any stipulations with respect to them were unnecessary.

The Mogul granted to the Company the Dewannee of Bengal, Bahar, and Orixá; and an instrument was executed, in the name of the young Nabob Nudjim-Ul-Dowlah, for a yearly tribute of twenty-six lacks of rupees, to be paid into the royal treasury, for the Soubahship of Bengal.

The Company likewise, at the desire of the Nabob, became his guaranties: and farther agreed, or rather imposed the condition, to pay into his treasury an annual sum towards the expences of his household; provided he interfered not in the collection of the revenues of the provinces.

By the treaty entered into with Nudjim-Ul-Dowlah, which we have just mentioned, and which, upon an impartial review,

review, bears very evident marks of compulsion and restraint, that young prince divested himself of almost every authority. He thereby agreed to rely upon the Company's forces, and to maintain no troops of his own, but such as should be immediately necessary for the dignity of his person, and for the ordinary Sibbendy *; and even stipulated that those should not be under his own direction, but that they should be commanded by a person fixed with him by the advice of the Governor and Council of Calcutta, in the station of Naib-Soubahdar, who should have the immediate and absolute management of his affairs: and farther, he invested the Company with an unlimited power of appointing and displacing all such officers of his government as they should think proper.

Thus have we, in the briefest manner, touched upon the occurrences of Bengal.

* Troops employed in the collections.

Shujah-Ul-Dowlah was restored to his dominions ; the Mogul was established in the kingdom of Corah, with part of the province of Allahabad, and an annual settlement of twenty-six lacks of rupees from the province of Bengal, provided he resided with, and under the protection of, the English : and Nudjim-Ul-Dowlah, dependent on the administration of the English, and giving up the management of his own country to the Company for a stipulated sum of something more than fifty-three lacks of rupees per annum, was nominally the Soubahdar of Bengal. By which arrangement, independent of the fifty lacks of rupees from Shujah-Ul-Dowlah, the reversion of Lord Clive's Jaghire, and the cession of the five Northern Circars on the coast of Coromandel, the Company came into the possession of a nett annual revenue of one hundred and twenty-two lacks of rupees, or one million six hundred and fifty thousand nine hundred pounds sterling.

B O O K IV.

HAD we continued our narrative in any particular order of time, we should have related the transactions of the English nation on the coast of Malabar, previous to our having entered on those of Orixá or Bengal; but as the one country was barren of events in comparison with the other, and as the territorial acquisitions of the Company, both on the Coromandel coast and in Bengal, were great national objects, and were obtained in perpetuity at the same time; we conceived it more conformable to our original plan to give them the front ground, and to blend the accounts together.

Malabar, as it is now generally denominated, extends from Cape Comorin to the river Indus, and in that vast tract contains an infinite number of different governments. The commerce which invited

vited Venice from her canals, and Amsterdam from her marshes, had rendered Goa the center of the riches of India, and one of the most celebrated marts in the world. It is now reduced to a mere ruin, though defended by a body of troops, which are a very considerable expence to the Portuguese government.

Bombay is a small island, which having been given as part of the dower of the Infanta of Portugal, married to Charles the Second of England, was by that prince ceded to the India Company. It was at first considered in no other light than that of an excellent harbour, which, in time of peace, might serve as a place of refreshment for the merchantmen frequenting the Malabar coast; and, in time of war, as a winter station for the squadrons which government might send to India. This was considered as a very valuable advantage in seas where there are so few good Bays, and where, in short, the English have no other. The settlement has since been rendered

dered much more useful. The Company have made it the mart of all their trade with Malabar, Surat, and the Persian and Arabian gulphs.

Salsette is another island separated from Bombay by a narrow channel, fordable at low water, and was taken by the Mahrattahs from the Portuguese. This island is remarkably fertile. It is about twenty-six miles long, and nine broad. The Mahrattahs, masters of it for a considerable time, kept the English settlement at Bombay in continual apprehension; not from any dread of the power of their arms, but from that of a still more formidable enemy, want. Barren in itself, Bombay could not supply its numerous inhabitants with provisions in any degree adequate to its consumption. Salsette was, therefore, its chief resource. From that island they derived the greatest part of their food, and in cases of exigency were to depend on it for support.

If

Had not the attention of the Company been diverted by the great scenes in which they were engaged on the coast of Coromandel and in Bengal, it is natural to believe, that this island would not have remained so long unmolested in the hands of the Mahrattahs. Late measures, however, have effectually secured it to the English. The acquisition is certainly a valuable one; and care will no doubt be taken, that it be not wrested from them in future.

About a century ago, a private Mahrattah, of the name of Angria, by distinction called Conajie Angria, having, from the influence of good fortune, raised himself to an high degree of distinction during the wars of the Mahrattah state with the Mogul administration of Surat, and having been in consequence invested with the government of Severndroog, there assumed to himself a command, which, spurning at the fetters of authority, boldly exalted him to a situation

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tion that awakened the jealousy and apprehension of all the maritime powers of the East. At first, his depredations were confined to the little vessels that coasted along the shores of Malabar ; but success attending him in all his enterprises, and the number of his seamen increasing as the fame of his prowess spread abroad, he quickly found himself enabled to extend the objects of his ambition. By degrees he acquired a considerable dominion ; infomuch, that the Mahrattahs conceived it advisable, not only to bury in oblivion the remembrance of his transgressions, but even to conciliate his friendship by a peace, which, under the clause of an annual tribute, they concluded with him at his capital of Geriah. The commerce of India was by this means clogged with insuperable difficulties. The English and Dutch, in particular, suffered considerably in their trade. Commercial ships of a respectable force, belonging to either nation, fell into his hands.

hands. The convoys themselves were often beat off, and sometimes even taken.

The continual losses which piracies of this nature occasioned to the Europeans who had settlements in the East, at length determined the English, in concert with the Portuguese, to attack the principal resort of the followers of Angria; this was in 1722. The expedition, however, proved abortive. Nor did another, which was undertaken by the Dutch in 1724, although the force consisted of seven ships of war and two bomb-ketches, in any manner answer the expectations that were formed from it.

At length the Mahrattahs, on failure of the stipulated tribute, leagued themselves with the English presidency of Bombay. The efforts of these powers were in the end victorious. Geriah, with all the territory and harbours of the usurper, fell into the hands of the confederates in 1756; and a power was

thereby crushed, which, for a number of years, had been the dread and scourge of the Western coasts of the Peninsula of India.

Surat, which we have already mentioned, was a considerable time the only seaport on that side of Hindostan, for the exportation of the manufactures of the Mogul empire, and for the importation of many necessary articles. It had also been the place whence zealots, on a pilgrimage to Mecca, embarked for the purposes of visiting the tomb of their holy prophet. Equally anxious for the protection of the trade of his dominions, and for the security of those devout Mussulmen who were bent on the completion of their vows, the Mogul appointed an admiral at Surat, whose influence was extensive, and whose allowances were considerable. The salary, however, not being punctually paid, the admiral, Siddee Mussfoot, seized upon the castle, and, from that fortress, laid the city under contribution.

The

The Mahrattahs, who had long been accustomed to receive one fourth part of the revenues, on condition that they should not molest the inland trade, saw the confusion which this occasioned, with all the exultation of unprincipled rapacity. They flattered themselves that the distresses either of the admiral or the inhabitants would call for their protection, and that the plunder of the place would consequently be their reward. They, therefore, wished for nothing more than to gain admission within the ramparts, which had been settled as their barrier. The traders, however, well acquainted with the treachery of the Mahrattahs, and trembling for their property, called in the English in 1759, and aided them in the reduction of the citadel. The Mogul afterwards confirmed the English in the possession of it, together with the exercise of the office of admiral of the empire. This revolution restored tranquillity to Surat; and Bombay, which was the cause

of it, acquired an addition of wealth, influence, and power.

Having, in the course of our narrative, been necessarily obliged to mention the Mahrattahs, a nation whose military operations have had a most extensive influence through the whole empire of Hindostan, and whose power even at this day is deprecated by the most formidable potentates of the East, we shall beg our readers' patience for a moment, while we collect together such accounts as may be deemed authentic, touching the government and history of so considerable a people.

BOOK V.

SINCE the commencement of the present century, two powerful and noted nations have arisen out of the ruins of the Mogul empire, and in opposite quarters of Hindostan; the Mahrattahs and Seiks. The former we shall now bring under review. They preceded the Seiks in point of time; and they are superior to them in extent of dominion, in military force, and in political importance. The Mahrattahs were originally Rathoas, a branch of the Rajahputes. The word is supposed to be derived from their manner of fighting, and their predatory incursions; Mahr signifying attack, and hattah, retreat. The Mahrattahs are also called Burgies. Neither appellation, however, is pleasing to them. They look upon both as contemptuous, and prefer the general term Dekani, (or Southern.)

Rajah or Rana-Bheem, sovereign of Oodipoor, was founder of the Dynasty of Mahrattah Rajahs. He was of the noblest and most ancient family of Hindoo princes. He left two sons, Ram-Singh, who succeeded him; and Bagh-Sing, who panted for dominion, and saw it easy of acquisition in the distracted empire of the Moguls. Bagh-Sing, with the approbation of his brother, quitting Oodipoor, arrived with a considerable train of followers in the Decan, a country at that time divided into various principalities, and there engaged himself in the service of Rajah Ali-Mohur. In this Rajah's employ, however, he continued no longer than till he had planned his future progress. He then, having acquired the title of Bhonfillah*, quitted it, and settled with his adherents in the neighbourhood of Poonah. He had two sons, Maloojee and Bumbojee, who were both

* This compound signifies, a spear in the breast of an enemy, and is meant to denote the prowess of those who bear the name.

renowned

renowned for gallantry and intrepidity of spirit.

The important fortress of Dowlatabad was about this period commanded by a Hindoo of great consideration, called Jadoora. This chief hearing of the fame of the brothers, and wishing to avail himself of their abilities, invited them to his service. They agreed to his propositions, and were distinguished and favoured by him, till too far presuming on their success, he found himself constrained to dismiss them from their respective offices. They then returned towards home, but, on their arrival, found their father dead. This opened their views to more important objects. Their father had died opulent. He had likewise left a little army, which was daily gathering strength.

Maloojee and Bumbojee, now at the head of the Oodipoor Rajahputes, entered into association with a celebrated freebooter of Phultunger, named Nimalgur, who had

had the command of a few squadrons of good horse. They also engaged with a rich merchant of Chumar-Rondh, called Shafoota-Naig, who coming heartily into their views, agreed to be their treasurer. Maloojee was the first who took the field. With a compact body of three thousand horse, he entered the pass of Nimadit-Hawri, and marching along the banks of the river Godawuri, arrived in the neighbourhood of Dowlatabad. From this place he wrote to Nizam-Shaw, one of the sovereigns of the Decan; and in the most insolent manner threatened to pollute the mosques of the Decan with the blood of hogs, unless certain demands were immediately complied with. This menace, or more probably the apprehensions of Nizam-Shaw, worked as favourably as he could have wished. Nizam-Shaw received and loaded him with kindness. He even acquiesced in a desire which this adventurer expressed of marrying his son Shahjee to the daughter of Jadoorae. The nuptials were solemnized

nized by Nizam-Shaw's express command, and Maloojee was permitted to establish himself in Dowlatabad, in which place his coadjutors also took up their abode; Ouja-Gobind being appointed their peishwa, or prime minister. This is the origin of an office, which we shall presently find to be of very high importance.

Maloojee and Bumbojee, great in reputation, and formidable in power, died both in an advanced age at Dowlatabad. Shahjee succeeded them, having a son, whom he named Sumbha-jee, born of his marriage with the daughter of Jadoorae. Shahjee preserved the same degree of estimation at the court of Nizam-Shaw, which his father and uncle had possessed. He even received the appointment of governing minister from the Queen Regent of Nizam-Shaw, that monarch being also dead. But the jealousy of old Jadoorae took fire at this exaltation of his son-in-law. He grieved at finding himself precluded from a station, to which, not only

ex-

experience but length of services gave him a preferable claim to. Nor did he content himself with repining. He secretly undermined the influence and authority of Shahjee. He even procured an army under Meer-Jumlah, Shaw-Jehan's general, to be sent against him.

This implacability of Jedoorae plunged Shahjee in difficulties. He was unable to encounter the Emperor's general in the field; nor had he resources sufficient to call in the aid of foreign mercenaries. Thus straitened, he shut himself up in the fort of Mahvoli: here he was besieged by Meer-Jumlah. The shafts of ill fortune were now, he conceived, inevitably levelled against him: but happily a negotiation, which he privately carried on with the governor of Bijahpoor*, proved propitious to his cause. The governor assured him of the warmest attachment to his interests; he conjured

* Bijahpoor, erroneously called Viziapoure.

him

him to rely upon his word, and to confide himself and family to his charge.

Shahjee embraced the friendly offer. He abandoned Mahvoli in the night, and effected his escape, though not without infinite difficulty, to Bijahpoor. His wife, however, big with child, fell into her father's hands, and was by him sent to the fortress of Seonburri. Here she was delivered of a boy*, whom she named after the divinity of the place, Shavajee, or Savajee. The Prince of Bijahpoor, Sultan Secundar-Shaw, received the unfortunate Shajee with tenderness and respect. He took him into his closest confidence, and very shortly afterwards conferred upon him in Jaghire the Carnatic.

Meer-Jumlah was now remanded to Delhi. Jadoorae of course found it ex-

* 1549 of the Hindoo year, answering to the year of Christ 1628.

pedient to seek a distant asylum. The Queen Regent and the family of Nizam-Shaw, who, in consequence of the ascendancy of this party, had been confined to Mahvoli, were now reconducted to Dowlatabad : but Meer-Jumlah again appearing in the Decan, hostilities commenced afresh. The issue was favourable to the Queen Regent. The Imperial general was defeated. Previous to this, however, an accommodation of difficulties had taken place between Jadoorae and the Queen Regent. Shahjee being in the Carnatic, was no longer an object either of jealousy or fear.

The kingdoms Bijahpoor and Dowlatabad, never cordial in amity, were now, from a trivial cause, to experience the calamities of war. Their armies took the field. The forces of Dowlatabad were considerable : those of Bijahpoor more powerful ; the latter being joined by Shahjee and his Rajahputes, and the well-disciplined troops of the Carnatic.

Merar-Jugdéo, minister of the Sultan of Bijahpoor, and Shahjee, marching to the Westward, encamped at Poonah. Here they began hostilities. Poonah fell, and was razed to the ground. The country next submitted to the conquerors. In a word, the whole dominion of Dowlatabad, in that quarter of the Decan, fell into the hands of the generals of Bijahpoor. Shahjee's reputation and influence consequently increased. The Sultan conferred upon him in Jaghire, in addition to the Carnatic, the provinces bounded on the one side by Poonah and Cokun, and on the other by Wae, Surwae, Soopi, Undaipoor, and Jadgeer. The governors placed over them by Shahjee, were Dadajei, and Sidi Hullah, an Ethiopian.

Dadajei, in whom implicit confidence was placed, was now entrusted with the care of Shavajee and his mother ;—while Shahjee himself penetrated into the territories of the Polygars of Gungeer. Here uncommon success attended him. But he
lost

lost his son, Sumbhaje, who was killed in attacking a petty fortress. His return was marked by marrying another woman, named Tookabâe, of the tribe of Moah-teh, by whom he had a son, called Ikajei : and by his repudiating the daughter of Jadoorae, and abandoning the interests of her son Shavajee.

Shavajee now began to manifest a rising genius. All his studies and exercises were pursued with eagerness. He shewed an impatience of control ;—but, withal, a liberality of spirit. Shahjee was inwardly grieved at this superiority over his favourite Ikajei, whose parts were feeble, and whose disposition was but negatively good. He, however, endeavoured to out-balance the natural and acquired advantages of the one, by the dazzling trappings of consequence in the other. He accordingly appointed Ikajei to the command of the province of Chundawur, which he had recently conquered in the Carnatic from a Polygar called Ragho ; and over it, and a respectable

respectable army, gave him unbounded authority.

Dadajei, with whom Shavajei resided, was at this time in possession of a well-earned reputation. His services to Shah-jei, in the government of Poonah, had been eminent. To him alone it was owing, that Aurungzebe had exhibited any symptoms of amity and forbearance. But Shavajei's turbulent and ambitious spirit was the source of continual disquietude to him. He strove by every effort to keep him within the bounds of moderation, but all to no effect. Shavajei was irreclaimable. He burst all restraint, and assumed the dominion of himself.

Dadajei sinking under the weight of years, and dreading the issue of this struggle for independency in Shavajei, gave up all farther relish for life, and taking poison, put an end to his anxieties and his existence together.

Shavajei no longer under the apprehension of control, and stimulated by ambition and opportunity, seized the reins of government on Dadajei's death. In the full confidence of power, he formed an administration. To Siam Raje he confided the seals of the Peishwâee. Ragho Bulalutri he nominated his secretary; and to Raghonat Balal he entrusted the control and payment of his forces. His age at this time was barely seventeen. A cast-off likewise and an alien from his father. But these were no impediments: they were rather spurs to the daring propensities of his mind. The vigorous ardour of youth, tempered indeed by an uncommon share of penetration and sagacity, led him to decision and promptitude in his actions; whilst the injuries he felt at his father's unjust predilection for Ikajei, his youngest born, satisfied him of the rectitude of a conduct, which had nothing for its object but the recovery of his right.

Shahjei,

Shahjei, whose residence was in the Carnatic, hearing of the usurpation of his son, was, contrary to expectation, satisfied with it. He publicly exonerated him from all censure: and as a testimony of his entire approbation, invested him with the government of Poonah and its dependencies. In this situation of affairs, Aurungzebe applied to Shavajei, as a dependent of the empire for his portion of the pecuniary aid and military assistance. But his mandates were derided, and his messengers insulted. The application, however, was useful to the aspiring Mahrattah. It gave him the idea of an assessment on all the countries within the reach of his power. He accordingly took the field, and made a general levy of a fourth part of the revenues of each district, and this arbitrary contribution he denominated Chout*.

With

* This, was the origin of the Chout, which hath since been levied, at one time or other, from every country and potentate of Hindostan: the Moguls not excepted. Nay, to so very high a pitch of consequence

With troops, with treasure, and with an eager thirst of dominion, Shavajei was not long in extending his conquests. He marched into the fertile province of Cokun, and presently subduing it, appointed Raghonath Balal its governor. He next turned his steps northward, and thence sweeping round to the South, he so alarmed the sovereigns of the Decan, that the Sultan of Bidjahpoor (with the full acquiescence of Shahjei, who reprobated this conduct of his son) sent a considerable army to oppose his progress, under the command of Abdoolat Cawn.

Shavajei who was averse to contention with so formidable an opponent, agreed to a conference with the Bidjahpoor general. They met at an appointed spot, within the sight of both armies. But Abdoolat

did the Mahrattahs exalt themselves, that Bahadur Shaw carried into execution what a former emperor had planned, the allowing the Mahrattahs nine rupees out of every hundred, of the general revenues of the empire. This tribute he denominated Surdaifinooky.

Cawn

Cawn was less generous than Shavajei: he basely attempted to assassinate the Mahrattah, while spiritedly vindicating his actions, with respect to the court of Bidjapoor. The result was, that Abdoolat Cawn was instantly cut down by Shavajei's own hand*. The Bidjapoor camp was attacked with a resolution rendered invincible by animosity and revenge. Shavajei was victorious, and remained master of the field. The son of Abdoolat Cawn, however, assembling an army afresh, attacked Shavajei while lying before Puttali. But here the superior fortune of the Mahrattah again manifested itself. The Bidjapourans met with a thorough defeat.

* This is the fact, and not as is related in a late work styled Historical Fragments of the Mogul Empire, where the author, from misinformation, has been led to say, that "Sevaji seduced the commander Abdul to a conference, and stabbed him." Treachery was aimed at, but never intended by Sevaji. He was meant the sacrifice.

Aurungzebe, the reigning emperor of Hindostan, whose ambition was as boundless as that of Shavajei, smarting at the insults shewn by the latter to his Vackeels; and moreover resolving to crush effectually the rising greatness of the Mahrattahs, ordered the Imperial army, under Shaistah Cawn, to Poonah. Shavajei, undismayed at the threatened vengeance of the Mogul, boldly met his General in the field. A bloody battle ensued. But victory, as usual, appeared for the Mahrattahs. Shaistah Cawn was defeated, and forced to return to Dehli.

Defensive measures were no longer necessary. Shavajei bending his way to Surat, attacked, carried, and plundered that Imperial city in 1664. He next engaged the Imperialists under Mohkim, a commander of great reputation; and having routed them with slaughter, slew their general in the pursuit. He then returned to Poonah, and there giving himself up to devotion, lavished dignities

ties and rewards on the order of the Brahmins. But Aurungzebe was still determined in his purpose. He marched an army from Dehli, under the celebrated leaders Dilleir Cawn and Juswint Rae. They reached Poorundur, which, after an obstinate defence, was obliged to capitulate. They next moved towards Poonah. Here likewise they were successful. In a word the standards of the Royal House of Timnur, streaming with their ancient resplendency, again ensured victory wherever they were displayed. Shavajei shrunk from the storm that was thus hurled against him; and submitting himself to Dilleir Cawn, repaid, together with his son, to the Imperial Court at Dehli.

Aurungzebe received the humbled Mah-rattah with an affected, but insolent moderation. He expressed regret at the punishment he had been compelled to inflict; but he disregarded the application of Shavajei, when he solicited for the little islands of Hundry and Kunary, at that time go-

verned, on the part of Nizam Shaw, by the Siddees Sundrur and Yacoote. This impolitic severity doubly disgusted the Mahrattah. He felt the highest indignation at the refusal; nor could he forbear manifesting it, even to the emperor himself. He meditated revenge. Nor was he tardy in carrying it into execution: for making his escape, he shortly found himself at the head of a formidable army, which, attached to his person and his interests, enabled him, with astonishing rapidity, to reconquer the countries which had submitted to Dillier Cawn.

He now resolved to erect a sovereignty over the Mahrattahs, and to render that sovereignty permanent in his own family. He accordingly, with all the usual and essential formalities of Hindostan, in the year 1674, caused himself to be enthroned at Royhindgen, which from that day hath been denominated Rajagur; and with all the absolute authority of Rajah, assumed that title. Here commences
2 the

the æra of the Dynasty of the Mahrattah Rajahs.

But Shavajei was still menaced from Dehli. Besides which, his son Sambhajei was rebelliously aiming at independency. To avert these evils, he took every possible precaution. But the wounded pride of Aurungzebe was not to be soothed into pacific measures. He poured an irresistible force into the territories of Poonah, and once more compelled Shavajei to submit. Peace continued between three and four years. But the lust of dominion in Shavajei was not to be restrained. Repossessing himself, therefore, of all the places wrested from him by the Imperialists, he in the vindictive spirit of retaliation, a second time visited and sacked the city of Surat.

Shahjei, the father of Shavajei, was still alive; but being treacherously circumvented, was seized and delivered over to the reigning prince of Bijahpoor, his implacable enemy. The cruel fate decreed the
old

old man, was that of being buried alive. Shavajei heard of it. He immediately put his army in motion, and with a celerity almost incredible, hastened towards the Carnatic. The news of his approach terrified the enemies of his father. The inhuman sentence was deferred. Shahjei found means to escape. But the wrath of the son was not to be appeased. Fire and sword spread desolation through the dominions of Bijahpoor. The aged Shahjei at last interceded; and his injuries were forgiven, though reluctantly, by Shavajei.

About this time Shavajei had another son born to him, whom he named Rajah Ram. Shahjei, whose affections had been somewhat estranged from Shavajei, felt, at this last instance of filial tenderness and attachment, a full return of his former tenderness. Accident had a long while prevented them from seeing each other. An interview was eagerly desired by both. They accordingly met, and continued together during several weeks at Poonah.

Histo-

Historians dwell on this scene with peculiar satisfaction. The aged warrior is represented clasping his exalted child, whose glory was in full blossom, in his enfeebled arms; while tears of gratitude intermixed with those of filial respect and veneration, fell from the gallant assertor of Hindoo independency. The hoary chief beheld in his son the founder of a race of kings. The son saw in his father the origin of the greatness of the Mahrattah name. But it was the last time they were to meet. A fall from his horse, as he was hunting, put an end to the existence of Shahjei.

Shavajei was now without competitor. His army was the most formidable in Hindostan, and his treasury full. To extend his dominion was therefore his first object. Pursoojei, his cousin, he appointed his Sêna or General, and then marching towards Bijahpoor, quickly reduced that kingdom to a tributary province. He next entered Berar, plundered Karinja, and levied

levied the Chout. Thence moving, he took and plundered Bishenpoor; and being unsuccessful in a negotiation with the Siddees, for the islands of Hundry and Kunary, he vigorously attacked the Siddee Yosif Khan, and laid siege to Rajepoor, which surrendered after an obstinate resistance.

In this brilliant career, Shavajei felt humbled at the inglorious conduct of his brother Ikajei, who, so far from treading in the steps of ambition, was indolently dissipating his time in the lap of luxury and voluptuousness. Nor could all his remonstrances or threats rouse him to activity. He even tried harsher measures, and dispossessed him for a time of his country. But all would not avail. Ikajei's frame of mind was not to be altered. He returned him his country, therefore, and never after gave him farther molestation *.

Sha-

* Ikajei left three sons, the two elder of whom died without issue. The descendants of the younger, whose

Shavajei, like the generality of Hindoos, was superstitious. It is even said, that from his childish days he was uncommonly and unaffectedly religious. However this may have been, he was now profuse to the Bramins. His favours and attention to them were unbounded. Their influence even at this day in the empire of the Mahrattahs, may be attributed to his generosity. But they repaid him (and nothing can more pointedly shew the excess of Braminical pretensions) with ingratitude. They refused, though he earnestly solicited the indulgence, to admit him of their order.

But Shavajei's Sun was now in its decline. His arms gave way on a fresh invasion from the quarter of Dehli. Runmat Cawn, the Imperial general, gained over him a compleat and a decisive victory.

whose name was Jockajei, are still of consideration in the Mahrattah empire, though unconnected with the ruling government.

But

But domestic misfortunes bore harder on his quiet. He might recover from the blow which had been given him by the Moguls ; but the dissensions of his family threatened a termination in blood. The prognostic was fatally fulfilled, himself falling the first victim. His second wife, the mother of Rajah Ram, had him taken off by poison, in order that the dominion of the Mahrattahs might devolve on her own child, in preference to Sumbhajeï ; who, agreeably to primogeniture, and to the intentions of his father, was to be nominated by will to succession in the Rajahship.

Thus fell Shavajeï, the celebrated founder of the Dynasty of Mahrattah Rajahs, who first shook the stability of the throne of the Moguls in the reign of Aurungzebe, and who pointed the way to those immense acquisitions, which the Mahrattahs very shortly afterwards made in every corner of the Peninsula, and in the remotest parts of Hindostan.

Rajah

Rajah Ram, favoured by a cabal in the state, ascended the Musnud of his father. But he did not retain it long. Sumbhajei's influence and pretensions prevailed, after an ineffectual struggle on the part of his brother. Rajah Ram was imprisoned, and all his adherents dispersed. Sumbhajei reigned but for a few years. He was treacherously betrayed into the hands of Aurungzebe, who, with a cruelty that stamped his character, cowardly and exultingly put him to an ignominious death. The government devolved on his son Sahoojei. Sahoojei, or, as he hath been erroneously called by Europeans, the Sahou Rajah, ascended the throne in 1689, and died without issue, when the crown in consequence fell to Ram Rajah, the eldest son of Rajah Ram, that prince being also deceased. Ram Rajah ruled over the Mah-rattahs till December 1777, when he likewise died; and since that period, there has been no sovereign of that formidable people.

We

We are now arrived at the period in which the Mahrattah history becomes peculiarly worthy of the attention of Europeans. Their conquests, their struggles with the power of the Moguls, and their almost general usurpation of the Decan and the Carnatic, have already been slightly touched upon. These were, however, in a great measure unconnected with the interests of Europeans. The scene hath since been changed. Much hath latterly happened to open the eyes of mankind, to an observance of a body, which, simple as it was in its origin, was adequate to almost universal conquest in the East; but which, by subsequent complication, fell into unwieldiness and imbecility. The head lopped from the state, left the ambition of individuals free scope for territorial acquisitions. The system no longer retained a consistency of measures. It became a disjointed mass of interests and dependencies.

When

When Ram Rajah came to the throne of the Mahrattahs in 1740, two ministers of extensive abilities, held the administration of affairs. Bajirow as Peishwâ of the empire ; and Ragojei as Buxy. These two men, daring and ambitious, and unchecked by principle, resolved to take advantage of the incapacity of Ram Rajah. That unhappy Prince, therefore, had scarcely ascended the throne, as the undisputed successor of Sahoojei, when they boldly and openly usurped the whole authority of his government. Bajirow seized the western provinces of the empire, and made Poonah his capital. Ragojei retained the eastern, and fixed his residence at Naugpoor. They confined the Rajah to his palace and gardens at Satarrah, where he was never seen on business ; nor visited even on any other occasion, but by those immediately of his household. The jagheers hereditarily held by the Rajahs of Satarrah, they still continued to him ; besides which, he was pensioned with a revenue of one lack of rupees per month

for his ordinary expences, and a guard of two thousand horse for the protection of his person. But beyond this, every thing was denied him. Once a year, it is true, he was permitted to shew himself in and about Satarrah. He then was, as it were, worshipped. The usurpers of his government, together with the great officers of state, all acknowledged him as their paramount lord : but, the cruel pageantry at an end, this wretched sovereign of a day was again immured within the walls of his palace ; and there was detained, until the returning season brought about a fresh and a heart-rending mockery of freedom. Yet still his name and signet were used in the administration of affairs. Even the *Khelât*, or honourary dress of office, was made to come from him on every appointment of importance.

The form of government established by these aspiring chieftains was nearly similar. Bajirow, however, retained the title of *Peishwâ*, which answers to that of Vizier

in Mahommedan states, that office vesting in him the whole executive administration of affairs. The office of Dewan he conferred upon his relation, Sadashee, commonly called the Bhow. The other posts of consequence, such as the Purnaveese, who has the charge and collection of the public revenues, and the Buckshi Seena Saheb, who has the charge and payment of the army, he likewise bestowed upon men of high rank and abilities. His intent was, that these trusts should be revocable at pleasure. But as he was careful that the Peishwâship should continue hereditary in his family, they also took precautions that their offices should devolve in succession to their descendants.

Whatever might be the appellations, and however unwarrantably assumed by Bajirow, whether that of Peishwâ, or Pundit Purdhaun, it is incontrovertible that his power was supreme. Time, indeed, saw it lessen considerably. The other chiefs then began to feel their strength, and

to rise in their pretensions. They acknowledged themselves to hold their lands by feudatory tenure from the Rajah or the Peishwâ ; but at the same time assumed the privilege of exercising sovereign jurisdiction in their several districts. They even insisted upon a participation in the domestic regulations of the state. Being connected with foreign affairs, they took the protection or superintendence of those of the different Princes of Hindostan into their own hands. One, for instance, attended to the transactions and the interests of Dehli, and the more northern parts of the empire ; another to those of the Carnatic ; a third to those of Mysore ; and a fourth to those of the Decan.

But the Peishwâ was still the head and the ruling principle of this vast confederacy. A circumstantial detail of all the conquests, and all the depredations previously committed by the Mahrattahs, would swell this little sketch beyond the limits which we must necessarily prescribe to

to our enquiries. Let it suffice to say, that although they had penetrated as far as Dehli in the year of the Higeira 1131, or of Christ 1718, they did not move with a declared intent of invading Hindostan, and the other dominions of the Mogul, until 1147, when Bajirow marched directly for the capital of the empire. He reached Dehli in 1148, first having compelled the Mogul to confer upon him the powerful and extensive Soubahship of Malva, which he left in succession to his children. The year of the Higeira 1173, or 1759, they again were seen in Hindostan, under Raghonaut-Row and other leaders, having been invited to the assistance of a revolted governor of Lahore. Nor was all the force which could be brought against them, though aided by Achmed Shaw and his fierce Abdalis, sufficient to divert them from their purpose. They reinstated Adinah Beig in his government of Lahore; and stipulating with him for the annual sum of seventy-five lacs of rupees, stationed a considerable

army in the very heart of the empire, under Joonkoo.

This Mahrattah swayed with absolute authority. The government of Lahore shortly becoming vacant at the death of Adinah Beig, he appointed a Mahrattah, named Saba, to rule over it. Saba pushed his conquests to the banks of the river Attock. The Mahommedans became alarmed at this growing power of the Mahrattahs. The Hindoo Rajahs also felt the galling and heavy yoke of their oppression. The only remaining resource was in the powerful sovereign of the Abdalis, Achmed Shaw. Achmed Shaw was accordingly applied to: who entering Hindostan, for the sixth time, drove the Mahrattahs before him.

A negociation was at this period on foot between the Mahrattah, Duttajei-Scindia, who derived his authority immediately from Poonah, and Shujah-Ul-Dowlah, the Soubahdar of Owd. But the approach of
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the Abdalis suddenly broke it off. The Mahrattahs now prepared themselves for a contest, which was decidedly to fix their fate in Hindostan. They hastily assembled; and under the command of Duttajei-Scindia and Joonkoo, marched to meet the Shaw. Their army was computed at more than eighty thousand horse. Achmed-Shaw prepared likewise on his part. The Mahommedans and Hindoos had joined him. These reinforcements gave him a superiority of numbers. He accordingly passed into the Unterbaid (the Doâb, or country between the Ganges and the Jumna*, and towards the close of the year 1759, came to an action with the Mahrattahs, which was most bloody and definitive. The Mahrattahs were routed. Duttajei-Scindia, with several other chiefs of distinction, were slain. Joonkoo, with the remains of his army fled, and was pursued: nor could he afterwards rally, although Hoolkar, who was then in the

* These rivers take their rise in the Cummaoon Hills.

neighbourhood of Jypoor or Jynuggar, marched with a considerable force to his relief. Hoolkar even fell into a snare—he was surpris'd at Secundra, and with difficulty made his escape with only three followers.

Sadashee, or the Bhow, was at this time in the Decan. He no sooner heard of Duttajei's death, and the misfortune which had befallen Hoolkar, than he moved with a formidable and well-appointed army, furnished with a train of European artillery, to revenge this disgrace of the Mahrattah arms. At Muthra he was joined by the celebrated Ghazy-Ul-Deen-Cawn, and by Soorudge-Mull, the chief of the Jates. But when he reached the Jumna, he found that river impassable from the rains. He altered his purpose, therefore, and instead of endeavouring to bring the Abdali to action, at once bent his course towards Dehli, which city he entered without much opposition.

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The citadel surrendered to him a few days after.

The conduct of the Bhow was cruel and rapacious. He inflicted the severest punishments, and plundered even from the sepulchres of the dead. About the middle of the year 1760, the rains having subsided, he marched from Dehli, having raised Mirza-Jewan-Bukht (Shah-Aulum's eldest son) to the throne, and appointed Shujah-Ul-Dowlah, though absent, his Vizier. From Dehli he proceeded to Koonjpoorah, which fell into his hands. He afterwards advanced towards Sirhind. But Achmed Shaw, enraged at his having put the garrison of Koonjpoorah to the sword, followed him with astonishing rapidity, and came up with him at Panniput. Here the Bhow entrenched himself. But a large reinforcement of which he was in expectation being cut off, and his army daily decreasing from the want of provisions, he resolved, with the unanimous concurrence of his officers, to try his fortune in the field.

field. The Mahrattahs accordingly advanced from their lines. The Mahomedans and their allies also moved. The action commenced : Carnage and destruction spread on every side. The issue, as is more particularly detailed hereafter, was favourable to Achmed Shaw. The Bhow was compleatly defeated. Full fifty thousand horse fell into the victor's hands, a prodigious treasure, and some thousands of elephants and camels. Two and twenty thousand Mahrattahs are even recorded to have been distributed in bondage on this unfortunate day.

Of all the chiefs who survived this fatal blow (which first gave a shock to the very foundation of the Mahrattah power) Hoolkar was the principal ; he effected his escape but with the utmost difficulty. The consternation it occasioned at Poonah was dreadful : Scarce a family of consideration but mourned the loss of some dear connection.

Bajirow,

Bajirow, the Peishwâ, was now dead. Nor was his son and successor Balajei long to bemoan the late disgrace. He sunk under the weight of it, and was succeeded by his second son Mhadarow, the eldest being slain in the battle. The descendants of Bajirow, the first sovereign Peishwâ, if we may be allowed the expression, of Poonah, were in the following order: Balajei, or Balajeirow, and Raghonaut-Row his sons. Balajei had Biswas-Row, killed at Paniput, Mhadarow and Narrain-Row. Narrain-Row, of all these three, alone left issue. His widow was delivered of a boy, the present Peishwâ Mahaderow, in 1774.

Thus much at present of the western, or Poonah empire of the Mahrattahs. We now for a moment will look at the eastern branch, and its connections. Ragojei, denominated Bhonsalah, a Rajahpute and a descendant of the Oodipou sovereigns, from whom Shavajee, the ancestor of the Mahrattah Rajahs, derived his origin, we have

have seen usurp at the same time with Bajorow, this part of his master's dominions: but the ambition of Ragojei was confined. He contented himself with the sovereignty of Berar and its dependencies *. He left four sons, Janojee, Sabajee, Mhoodajee, and Bum-bajee. Janojee succeeded his father: but, dying without children, left his three brothers in possession of his country, in the Summer of 1772, having previously adopted Seway Ragojei, son to Mhoodajee, for his successor, a youth about twelve years of age. The guardianship of this boy occasioned a competition among the brothers, which was at first decided by arms, in favour of Sabajee. But it ultimately fell into the hands of Mhoodajee who in a pitched battle defeated the army of Sabajee, that chief having fallen in the action. Mhoodajee still continues, and

* And a general combination of interests with the Soubahdar of the Decan: excepting when the Peishwâ contended with him, and then he remained neuter.

is acknowledged, fovereign of Berar. His revenues are considerable. Berar and Cuttack alone are estimated at one hundred and eight lacks of rupees annually. The former eighty four: the latter twenty four. Besides which, Mhoodajei Bhon-falah, as has been already mentioned, is indisputably heir to the Rajahship of Poonah. A dignity, indeed, it is probable he will never desire; the ministerial party of Poonah being too firmly rooted, to be shaken in its usurpation. Moreover his independency (as he urged when encouraged by the English a few years ago) being infinitely better established as the ruler of Berar, than it would be as the Rajah of Satarrah.

Exclusive of these families, which first led the way to the participation of the Mahrattah dominions, there are others of powerful consideration. The principal of which are Tookajei-Holkar, and Mhadajei-Scindia. These chiefs, besides other territories of vast extent, spreading from
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Candaish and Guzurat, to the banks of the Jumna, divide the whole of the rich province of Malva between them. Tookajei Hoolkar resides at Endore. Mhadajei-Scindia at Ugien. Each can bring into the field an army of fifty thousand horse. The year 1772 saw them manifest their strength : they then, in conjunction with Byfajei, marched to Dehli, and compelled the Mogul to grant them fannuds for the provinces of Korah and Allahabad. That they did not take possession of them, was owing to an alarm of the English being on their way to reinforce Shujah-Ul-Dowlah and the Rohillas.

We now return to the administration of Poonah, with whose transactions European politics have lately been deeply engaged. The Mahrattah government we have already mentioned to have been an absolute monarchy, until the death of Sahoojei, the immediate predecessor of Ram Rajah ; and we have also remarked it to have

have been vigorous and prosperous in all its branches. It then spread into various and unconnected channels; and was evidently enfeebled by its disunion. Bajirow, who first usurped the sovereignty, and annexed it to the Peishwâship left two sons, Balajei-Row and Raghonaut-Row, or Ragobah. The former, on the death of his father, came to the government of Poonah, as Peishwâ. The latter had the command of a province on the frontiers of Bengal. Balajei-Row's reign was short and pacific. On the death of Balajei-Row, Madahrow, his son, then eighteen years of age, laid claim to the government, and insisted on holding in his own hands the reins of administration. But in this he was opposed by Raghonaut-Row, who leaving the province immediately on the news of his brother's death, demanded the regency, as the natural guardian of his nephew. The adherents of Madahrow, and the friends of his father, however, stood by the young Peishwâ; and being firm in his support, Raghonaut-

honaut-Row was at length obliged to fly from Poonah.

Instead of returning to his own command, Raghonaut-Row repaired to the Soubahdar of the Decan, whom he, by promises of a remission of chout, gained over to his interests, and was thereby enabled to take the field with a powerful army against his nephew. The two armies soon met, and a battle ensued, in which Raghonaut-Row had the advantage. Overtures of peace were in consequence made to, and accepted by him. He was recalled to Poonah, and invested with the entire government of the kingdom in the name of his nephew.

A system of this nature could not last long; jealousies and apprehensions were the constant attendants on both parties; inasmuch, that Raghonaut-Row attempted his escape once more from Poonah, but was prevented by the timely notice which Madahrow received
of

of his intentions. Raghonaut Row was then thrown into prison, where he remained for many years.

After a tranquil reign, and a prospect of much happiness to his people, Madah-Row departed this life on the 17th of November 1772. Before he expired, however, he released his uncle ; and calling both him and a younger brother of his own, whom he meant to be his successor, before him, he conjured them to be affectionate and kind to each other ; and in order that the charge, with which he meant to invest Raghonaut-Row, (that of guardian to the young Narrain-Row,) should be as solemn as possible ; “ Receive,” said he, placing the hand of Narrain-Row in that of his uncle, “ receive under your protection this youth, who never injured you. You have no son ; he is your nearest relation ; and, therefore, must succeed to you, if ambition should induce you to wrest the government from him. Do you wish

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“ for

“ for power ? There can be no occasion
“ to depose him, for he will regulate his
“ conduct by your advice. If wealth be
“ your object, his treasury will be open
“ at your command.”

Narrain-Row, in consequence of his brother's nomination, and of his own right, succeeded Madah-Row as Peishwa, and gave the management of affairs to his uncle.

Matters were in this situation, when Raghonaut-Row, either prompted by ambition, or perhaps the more admissible plea, according to Eastern politics, of self-preservation, determined on the death of his nephew. He accordingly entrusted his design to two Soubahdars or captains, men on whom he could depend, and who engaged to perpetrate the horrid deed.

In Asiatic countries there never is a dearth of assassins ; Princes can as easily be furnished with the hand to execute, as
with

with the instrument to hurl the destruction. The time set apart for this tragic scene was the afternoon, when the unfortunate Narrain reclined himself to rest.

At that hour, lulled in security and repose, the unhappy youth was surprised. He fled to his uncle, whom he supplicated in the most pathetic manner to save his life ; told him to take his kingdom, and even to imprison him loaded with irons, but to have pity on his youth, to save him from destruction, to save him from the hands of the miscreants who surrounded him. Raghonaut-Row for a moment relented, and pleaded for him, but in vain. The wretches, who were actuated by revenge, as well as by desire of gain, answered haughtily, “ When we drew our
“ swords, we threw away the scabbards.
“ If he lives, we perish ;” and then rushing on their victim, who clung round his uncle’s neck in all the agony of terror and despair, stabbed him to the heart, and

left him breathless at his feet. One circumstance, however, is undoubted, and therefore should not be omitted; that Raghonaut-Row, in endeavouring to save his nephew, received some desperate wounds himself; and this he advances as a strong proof of his innocence in the affair.

Before it was publicly known that Narrain-Row was killed, Raghonaut-Row's party had got under arms, and he himself endeavoured, by lavishing considerable sums among the people, to stifle their indignation. Narrain's friends were therefore unable to appear, especially as they found themselves without a leader of sufficient consequence to give dignity to their cause. It is probable also, that Raghonaut-Row, in some degree, owed his security to that indifference with which the subjects of Eastern states admit of revolutions of this nature.

When every thing appeared tolerably tranquil at home, Raghonaut-Row, ac-

according to the usual custom of the Mah-rattahs, took the field, leaving an adopted son in the government of Poonah. And here it is to be observed, that this adopted son has always been considered as the instigator of the murder of Narrain-Row; for it was on his producing a letter (afterwards proved to be forged) containing dangerous sentiments with respect to Raghnaut-Row, that the Regent first determined to have his nephew assassinated.

The pretence made use of by Raghnaut-Row for raising an army, was to attack the Soubahdar of the Decan, with whom he had recently quarrelled; but in reality he found it necessary to have a body of troops in the field to oppose Gopincabah, the mother of Narrain-Row, who had many adherents in the country, and who was preparing to revenge the murder of her son. Besides which, he had reason to apprehend, that an alliance was meditated between that Princess and

Janajei-Bhonfalah of Berar, and Nizam-Ally-Cawn, the Soubahdar of the Decan.

The widow of Balajei-Row had left Poonah, when her eldest son, with whom she had some disagreement, succeeded to his father, and retired to Benares, the Mecca of the Gentoos, where it was imagined she had determined to end her days. The death of her favourite son, however, roused her from her retirement, and she now armed to revenge his fall.

Raghnaut-Row, after marching towards Hydrabad, the usual residence of the Soubahdar of the Decan, and having a few skirmishes with that prince, concluded a peace with him upon easy terms to both. He then marched towards the Seera province, from thence sent an envoy to Hyder-Ally-Cawn, and also wrote to the Nabob of the Carnatic in hostile terms. Very soon after he had concluded the treaty of friendship with the Soubahdar of the Decan, he was informed that the
widow

widow of Narrain-Row was with child : true or false, he found it was the intention of his enemies to raise up a rival against him, supported by hereditary claim.

Before he received answers from either the Nabob of the Carnatic or Hyder-Ally-Cawn, news was also brought him that his adopted son had abandoned Poonah, and that a very formidable alliance had taken place between Gopincabah, Seway-Ragojei, the successor of Janojei, and the Soubahdar of the Decan. 'This intelligence hastened his march towards Poonah. He had not proceeded, however, farther than the river Beama, when he found his enemies encamped with an army of twenty thousand fighting men. An engagement was now unavoidable : each army disputed the field with obstinacy, but the allies were in the end victorious. Raghonaut-Row thus discomfited, and deserted by all his followers, fled to the northward. After undergoing great fatigue, and escaping a variety of dangers, he took shelter

in the country of Mulhar-Ras-Scindia, a considerable Mahrattah chief (and predecessor of Madhajei Scindia, so well known to the English) where he remained for some time. The battle we have just mentioned was fought about the 5th of April 1774; and on the 10th of the same month the new-born son of Narrain-Row's widow was publicly declared his father's successor at Poonah.

The English Presidency of Bombay took part with Raghonaut-Row, in consequence of his solicitations, and entered into an alliance with him. The cessions he made to the Company by that treaty were indisputably great, and in such light were they seen by the Directors in England; who declared their entire approbation under every circumstance of what had been done respecting Raghonaut-Row, and directed their governments of Madras and Bengal to co-operate, if necessary, in maintaining what had been ceded to them.

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But the Government-general of Bengal, viewing matters through a different medium, had, previous to the receipt of these orders, totally disapproved of the treaty concluded with Raghonaut-Row, and ordered it to be cancelled; and had even sent Colonel Upton to Poonah, who in the end concluded a fresh one with the opposite party.

The English forces were in consequence recalled; and Raghonaut-Row, deserted by all, and particularly by the English, with whom he had solemn engagements, was under the necessity of claiming their protection of his person at Surat.

One of the articles of the treaty concluded by Colonel Upton particularly specified the allowance that the Poonah administration should make to Raghonaut-Row, provided he would quietly take up his residence in a place allotted him in their country, nor ever leave it without their express permission. This he would
not

not hearken to, but rather chose to trust himself to the protection of those who, agreeably to the laws and good faith of nations, were actually bound to assist him to the utmost of their power; vainly flattering himself (as the inglorious conduct of the presidency of Bombay afterwards glaringly manifested) that some unforeseen event might, one day or other, enable him to cope with his adversaries, and to assert his right, in an effectual manner, to the government of Poonah.

The government of Poonah now exhibited a new, and an unusual aspect. On the death of Sahoojei, the full administration of it, in its executive branches, fell into the hands of the Peishwa. The sovereign became a cypher. The minister was the efficient ruler. But on the death of Madah-Row, the absolute authority of the Peishwa began to decline; and on the murder of Narrain-Row, it may be said to have been nearly annihilated.

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From the Peishwa, the supreme power now descended to the Dewan of the Peishwa, the under-minister of the empire. Nor was he permitted to enjoy it alone. He was forced to a participation of it with the Purnaveese, who, in reality, a short time afterwards, compelled him to relinquish the whole. The Purnaveese, or secretary of state, Nana-Balajee-Pundit, was not so thoroughly benefited by this alteration of system as he at first had reason to expect. His colleagues in office insisted on sharing the sovereign authority. Nor did the dissemination stop here; the powerful Jagheerdars, following the example of their superior, and believing the minority of the Peishwa to be tantamount to his non-existence, arrogated to themselves an independency not inferior to the Purnaveese. Thus the Purnaveese, though the apparent agent of the state, was in reality no more than the occasional principal of a many-headed monster.

An empire at once so indistinct and tumultuous, afforded the most favourable opportunities to Raghonaut-Row for his re-establishment. He was accordingly favoured (in opposition to the junto who drove him from Poonah) by Sookeram-Baboo, the Dewan, and Mooraba-Pundit, the nephew and supposed successor of the Purnaveese, besides Fatty-Sing, Guicwar of Guzarat, all of them powerful, and abounding in resources: but unfortunately for him, their union proceeded more from an apprehension that the Purnaveese aimed at sovereignty, than any predilection for his desperate fortunes.

The Presidency of Bombay, however, allured by the assurances of so formidable a faction, wildly endeavoured by two attempts to restore him; but they failed. In the last, when the fatal enterprise against Poonah, in 1778, brought disgrace on the English arms, he found himself obliged to surrender, and that, he says, to ensure the safety of the Bombay troops.

“ We

“ We were embarked together,” says he,
“ and our vessel was sinking. As it was
“ on my account, therefore, that the
“ English had exposed themselves to dan-
“ ger, it was but just that my utmost
“ endeavours should be used for their
“ preservation.”

Raghnaut-Row surrendered himself to Mhadajee-Scindia and Tookajee-Holkar. Being a brahmin, his life was spared, the blood of that order being sacred; he yet, however, was counselled to beware of treachery. The banks of the river Nerbuddah were pointed out to him as the spot where he was to be sacrificed. He was commanded to Malwa. He in consequence set out, guarded by a strong and chosen body of troops, and encamped, without manifesting any alarm, on the shores of the Nerbudda. Tookajee-Holkar's people forded the river first; Raghnaut-Row's were to follow, and Mhadajee-Scindia's were to bring up the rear: but he now seized his opportunity, and
attacked

attacked the party of Scindia. The latter, unsuspecting and unprepared, were easily routed. Raghonaut-Row effected his escape, and arrived at Poonah about the middle of June 1779.

Since that period the English and the Mahrattahs have had various and vigorous struggles : but these being amply detailed in the accounts of the Mahrattah war, we shall conclude this review with simply remarking, that a definitive peace, through the mediation of Mhadajee-Scindia, has been concluded between the English and the Mahrattahs, and that a provision has been stipulated for Raghonaut-Row of three lacks of rupees per annum, which it is yet uncertain whether or not he will agree to receive.

Superior even to the power of which we have just been treating was that of the Moguls for many ages. A structure of such infinite magnitude, however, required a government of vigour. The ordinances

dinances of the empire were manifold; but in general they were feebly enforced: whilst the court of Dehli, from whence all laws and regulations should have been dispensed, appeared to the world a scene of the most unbounded corruption and licentiousness. Agitated by intrigue, and drenched in the blood of its own sovereigns and Omrahs; accustomed to revolutions as sudden as unparalleled, and encouraged by the weakness of the administration, the distant officers of the empire soon began to shake off their allegiance. At first they ventured to withhold the revenues of the provinces under their command; but by these means becoming possessed of the ability, as well as of the disposition to pursue those plans which a fortunate concurrence of circumstances rendered easy of adoption, an almost general independency took place.*

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* The empire began to decline during the reign of Aurungzebe, whose successful efforts against the Mahrattahs laid the foundation of that ruin, which
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The authority of the Emperor was still, it is true, acknowledged in the provinces ; but then it was an acknowledgement of such thorough insignificance, that not a single requisition was granted, nor even an order obeyed. He was prayed for in the mosques, at the time that he was opposed with vigour in the field ; and his name and titles were struck upon the coins, that, constitutionally his, were never meant to be transmitted to his treasury.

In short, the power of the Moguls had totally dwindled away. The Soubahdars were the first who established themselves in independency ; nor were their powerful deputies, the Nabobs, backward in following their example. The empire being rent, admitted of the abuse ; and the contagion having once got abroad, spread with an unremitting ardour throughout all Hindostan.

the distractions following his death, and the weakness of Mahommed-Shaw, confirmed.

A num-

A number of governments, thus formed on the ruins of a mighty empire, war and destruction, the usual concomitants of rebellion, soon sprang up among them. Each finding himself increasing in power, aimed at an acquisition of more than he originally wrested from his sovereign ; whilst new adventurers, in the hope of benefiting, daily obtruded themselves amid the contentions of a lawless set of usurpers.

The Moguls, thus stripped of their dominions, soon experienced the distresses inseparable from fallen authority. Necessity even compelled them to a compromise with their rebellious subjects, many of whom obtained a sanction for the measures they had pursued, and a confirmation of the authority they had usurped.

In the preceding pages a few instances have been given of the still-acknowledged prerogative of the crown of Dehli to nominate to all vacant governments, and

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that too at a time when the royal authority was known in general but by name. Such were the appointments of Nizam-Ul-Mulc, Gazee-Deen-Cawn and Schi-Abiddeen-Cawn, to the Soubahdary of the Decan ; Anawer-Odean-Cawn and Mahomet-Ally-Cawn, to the Nabobship of Arcot, and the Soubahdary of the Carnatic ; and the English, to the government of the Northern Circars and the Dewannee of Bengal.

So long, therefore, as the English shall look upon their territorial acquisitions as unalienable by any future Mogul, so long must they look upon the dominions of the several independent Soubahdars to be, in like manner, unalienable from them. The tenure by which they hold their possessions is in every respect the same ; and, therefore, the power that can affect the one, can indisputably affect the other.

The pernicious consequences that might attend a restoration of the Mogul power

to its former plenitude, are so extremely obvious, that they need not be insisted on. At the same time it should not be forgotten, that that power was the original source of the English prosperity in the East.

By a treaty, which we have formerly mentioned, it was stipulated, that the Mogul should receive, from the provinces of Bengal, an annual revenue of twenty-six lacks of rupees. The payment of this hath, however, been stopped, on account of his having shaken off his dependence on the English; and on his having established himself, contrary to stipulation, under the protection of the Mahrattahs at Dehli. This happened in March 1771, and in February 1772, the payment of the tribute ceased: whether justly or otherwise, it is not our business to determine. His situation, however, is truly deplorable. Even the little that was left to him, has within these few years passed either into the possession of the Seiks, or of Nudjif-

Cawn and his successors. Wretchedness and poverty is the lot of the lineal descendant of the Imperial House of Timur.

Of all the powerful vassals of the crown of Dehli, Shujah-Ul-Dowlah, Soubahdar of Owd, was one of the most considerable. His country bordering upon the English territories in Bengal, rendered him formidable to that nation when in arms to oppose them; whilst his friendship, on the contrary, served to establish him as a barrier against the more northern powers of Hindostan. On this account the Company looked upon their alliance with Shujah-Ul-Dowlah as a most fortunate event; nor did their servants at Calcutta fail to improve the connection to the utmost of their ability.

Shujah-Ul-Dowlah's family in Hindostan was founded by Mirza-Nasfeer, a native of Khorassan, who coming from Persia by sea, settled himself at Patna, in the province of Bahar. He left two sons,
who

who rose to eminence at the court of the emperor Furrokhfere. In the reign of Mahommed-Shah, Saadut-Cawn the elder was dignified with the title of Boorhân-Ul-Mulck, and with it received the Soubahship of Owd. His younger brother died, and left a son.

Boorhân-Ul-Mulck sending to Paishawar for a sister's son, bestowed on him his daughter in marriage, and obtained for him the title of Sufdur-Jung, together with the important office of Master General of the Ordnance. Sufdur-Jung, was afterwards appointed Vizier by Ahmed-Shah; and a son of this marriage, Shujah-Ul-Dowlah, was created Master General in his room. He likewise had the province of Allahabad conferred on him, in addition to the dominions of Owd, which now devolved to him by the death of Boorhân-Ul-Mulck *.

* The revenues of Owd were formerly calculated at three crores of rupees and a half, or three millions five hundred thousand pounds sterling. They are at this day a crore at least short of that sum.

From Sufdur-Jung (of whom more will presently occur) the Soubahship of Owd descended to Shujah-UI-Dowlah, at that time about twenty years of age. Ideas of independency had now gone abroad. The Abdalis, the Mahrattahs, and the Seiks, had made successful incursions into Hindostan. The government of the emperor Mahommed-Shah was deplorably weak. Omrahs in every quarter were seen to erect the standard of rebellion with impunity. In a word, the vast empire of the Moguls was daily splitting into distinct and unconnected principalities: and Shujah-UI-Dowlah was not the last to take advantage of the times.

Jewan-Bukht, a mere youth, and son to the present emperor Shah-Aulum, was at this period raised to the throne by the Abdalis, who took and plundered Dehli, and placed under the guardianship of certain noble Patans. This measure highly displeased Shujah-UI-Dowlah, and irritated

ted the Mahirattahs. They therefore resolved on the deposition of the son, and on the elevation of the father, the lawful heir to the crown: and the opportunity was propitious, the Abdalis having retired to their own country. They disagreed, however, on the preparatory measures essential to the project, and it was dropped.

A competition now took place between Nudjif-Cawn (a nobleman, whose grandfather had been Suddur-Ul-Suddure, or High Priest of Persia, in the reign of Shah-Abbas the Great) and Shujah-Ul-Dowlah. They were nearly allied by intermarriages. Nudjif-Cawn had quitted Persia, on the invitation of Shujah's father, Sufdur-Jung. He was accused by Shujah-Ul-Dowlah with having treacherously assisted Mahomed-Couly-Cawn in his usurpation of the province of Allahabad, of which he was governor. He was threatened also with assassination, similar to that of Mahomed-Ally-Cawn, who had

recently submitted, but whose reward had been death.

Nudjif-Cawn fled from Shujah-Ul-Dowlah's dominions, and took shelter with Coffim-Ally-Cawn, in Bengal. He remained with Coffim-Ally, until that wretched man was driven from his country. He then took refuge with the Rajah of Bundilcund. Previous to this, Shah-Aulum had assumed the title, though he could not be said to have ascended the throne of his ancestors : and Shujah-Ul-Dowlah had been appointed his Vizier.

After the battle of Buxar, and the arrangement with the Mogul, which we have already mentioned, Shujah-Ul-Dowlah (who was no longer possessed of country) determined, with the assistance of the Mahrattahs, on one more vigorous effort against the English, and their new ally the emperor, who was put in possession of Allahabad. But he failed : and with the mortification of knowing that Nudjif-Cawn

Cawn co-operated with the English on the part of the Mogul.

Shujah, however, was shortly reinstated by the English in Owd. Allahabad and Corah were indeed dismembered from his dominions. The King keeping the former, and conferring the Soubahdary of the latter on Nudjif-Cawn. He continued in Owd until the unfortunate Shah-Aulum, in 1770, trusted himself to the Mahrattahs, and proceeded with them to Dehli ; where instead of protection and assistance, and instead of being seated, as they had promised him, on a throne, which, as a fugitive, he had hitherto been precluded from, he experienced every species of insult and deceit.

The sack of Dehli by the Mahrattahs, and their marching directly towards his territories, induced Shujah-Ul-Dowlah to solicit the aid of an English brigade. The appearance of these troops dispersed the Mahrattahs : they retired ; first having
released

released Nudjif-Cawn, whom the King had been obliged to abandon through necessity, and whom they had brought with them from Dehli. A reconciliation was now brought about between Shujah-Ul-Dowlah and Nudjif-Cawn; and the former appointed the latter his representative as Vizier. From this period these Princes continued in amity. They aided each other in their views of independency. Nudjif-Cawn in the end acquired, besides the absolute management of the emperor's revenue and authority, an extent of dominion, yielding nearly three crores of rupees annually *. Shujah-Ul-Dowlah, after invading the Rohilla dominions, and annexing them, with the assistance of the English, to his own, died in the prime of life at Fyzabad.

Aufuph-Ul-Dowlah, the son and successor of Shujah-Ul-Dowlah, in this important government of Owd, is by no

* Three millions sterling.

means equal in ability to his father. He is indolent and unambitious : but he is ungenerously treated ; more easily shackled than his father, the fetters which have been forged for him by the English, are heavy and galling. He is reduced to a cypher in his dominions : even the shadow of authority is not left him. What cruelty to one, who had been before so thoroughly circumscribed, that nothing could be apprehended from him ! The treatment both of this man and Mahomed-Ally-Cawn, are instances of such unjust and impolitic tyranny, that the example may possibly have a fatal influence on the minds of the other powers of India. The number of Europeans is inconsiderable in the East. The natives are daily acquiring confidence ; and begin generally to be sensible, that the want of discipline alone hath hitherto rendered them inferior as soldiers. Let the English beware how they arouse that spirit of hatred and animosity, which in generating combinations, may eventually draw down destruction on
their

their heads. They have lately had cause for alarm. The die seemed thrown, and an impoverished existence, or annihilation, was evidently on the cast.

The Soubahdary of Owd, if left to flourish (with a few restraining checks) under the management of its own Nabobs, would serve as a formidable barrier against any attempts which might be made by the northern powers of Hindostan. The provinces of Bengal stand in need of such a safeguard: moreover, it would exempt the English (by having troops stationary in Owd) from what at present they cannot very well afford, the enormous expence of distant military operations.

B O O K VI.

IN the countries lying between Lahore and Khorassan several independent tribes of Tartars have established themselves, and all under the general denomination of Oughans, or Affghans. The most respectable among them, called Tureen-Oudal, or Abdal, was, between sixty and seventy years ago, ruled by a chief named Achmed-Cawn. The Persian usurper, Nadir-Shah, on his return from Hindostan, stripped this chief of his territories, and compelled him to serve in the Persian armies as an inferior Sardar. On the murder of Nadir-Shah, Achmed-Cawn made his escape; and reaching his own country, once more assumed the reins of government. During his exile, Achmed-Cawn had acquired a competent degree of knowledge in the art of war; he had studied, likewise, the principles of govern-
ment

ment adopted by Nadir-Shah : these he resolved to introduce among the Tureen-Abdals. The consequence was, he daily grew into strength and consideration ; and at last, overpowering all the neighbouring tribes, erected an absolute sovereignty, and assumed the title of king.

The governments of Persia and Hindostan were at this time in the utmost distraction. Achmed-Cawn knew it, and seizing the favourable moments, (the universal propensity of the east) he wrested from the former all the dominion extending to the city of Herât (the Aria of the ancients) together with Herât itself : and from the latter, the four large provinces of Candahar, Cabul, Peshore and Cashmire. He likewise conquered on the side of Tartary, as far as the country of Bakh. This success emboldened him to undertake greater matters. In the person of Mahommed-Shah, the Emperor of Dehli, he saw the setting glory of the house of Timur. Thirty years had this monarch

monarch reigned, and every year had been marked by the defalcation of some portion of the empire; moreover, he now was sinking to the grave, and his Omrahs were struggling for the power of nominating a successor. Achmed-Cawn, daring and ambitious, determined on profiting from this desperate situation of affairs. He quickly assembled an army, and unexpectedly rushing upon Lahore, reduced that province to obedience. He then turned towards Dehli; but here his good fortune failed him. In the district of Sirhind, he was met by the Imperial army, led by the Vizier Kummur-Ul-Deen-Cawn, but ostensibly commanded by the heir apparent of the empire, Achmed-Shah, which gave him battle. The action was bloody and obstinate. The Imperialists at length got the day, and forced him to a precipitate retreat. His discomfiture, however, did not dismay him: he still rested in the conviction that the conquest of Hindostan was feasible.

Mahom-

Mahommed-Shah lived not to hear of the success of his son. He died in the year 1747. The parties in competition for the right of Achmed-Shah, who succeeded him, were the Tartars, who had been headed by the Vizier Kummer-Ul-Deen, who was himself a Tartar; and the Persians, who in rank and condition were nothing inferior to the Tartars. Unfortunately, the Vizier had fallen in the battle of Sirhind. This threw a preponderating weight into the scale of the Persians. But that which effectually consolidated their power, and rendered them irresistible, was the exaltation of the Persian Sufdur-Jung, father of Shujah-Ul-Dowlah, to the Viziership. This apparently threatened the final destruction of the Tartar influence; but the Omrahs of this nation were still formidable.

Ghazee-Ul-Deen-Cawn, the grandson of the late Vizier, a youth of superiour abilities and intrepidity of spirit, now took the lead in the Tartar deliberations.

Their

Their resolutions became desperate. At length open contest succeeded to private intrigue, and the streets of Dehli were seen to run with the choicest blood of the empire. In this horrible confusion, when internal disorder had effectually banished all loyal and patriotic co-operations for general defence, Achmed-Cawn again started from his capital of Hussian-Abdal, and penetrated without opposition almost to the gates of Dehli. The rapidity of his march astonished the ministers of the Mogul: but their attention was engaged by more important concerns; their cause perceptibly lost ground; and a decisive action, at last brought about by the address of Ghazee-Ul-Deen-Cawn, finally overthrew it. Sufder-Jung and the Persians were worsted. Sufder-Jung fled to his soubadary of Owd, where he shortly afterwards died.

The Emperor was deposed, and his son placed in his room, on the throne of the Moguls. Previous to this, however, a

letter had been written by Achmed-Cawn to Ghazee-Ul-Deen-Cawn, proffering him the assistance of his troops against the Persians. Ghazee-Ul-Deen-Cawn allowed himself to be deceived. The offer was accepted, and Achmet-Cawn, continuing his route without molestation, was under the seal of friendship admitted into Dehli. This fatal mistake brought on universal calamity. Achmed-Cawn, unmindful of his word, and regardless of good faith, mercilessly sacked and plundered the city; stripped the imperial treasury of all its money and jewels; dishonoured the sacred apartments of the Haram, and carried off two of the princesses of the race of Timur, one of whom he espoused himself, and the other he married to his eldest son.

With this great acquisition Achmed-Cawn returned to Herât: but he still continued restless. In two other visits to Hindostan he again spread fire and desolation through that unhappy country. He died

died about twenty years ago, leaving a very compact and flourishing, though extensive dominion to his eldest son, Timur-Shaw, who now reigns over it. The father and son have both been known to Europeans by the common designations of their tribes, Abdali and Dourani.

The government of the Affghans under Timur-Shaw is perfectly fœdal. The country is divided into districts, which are severally ruled by a distinct chief, absolute in authority, and independent of the lord paramount Timur-Shaw, excepting some cases, in which, by certain tenures, military aids are established. The revenues of Timur are considerable. He never reduces his army to less than thirty thousand, and then he is careful always to have them either of Persian or Tartar birth. Besides this standing force, all composed of cavalry, and which he cloaths and pays regularly, he can, whenever he resolves on any foreign expedition, call upon his chiefs for their assistance; and

such assistance, it is averred, amounts to upwards of two hundred thousand men. Every man provides his own horse and arms. The country is populous, the climate good, and the natives remarkably hardy and robust.

Notwithstanding the formidable power and great resources of Timur-Shaw, matters have been kept tolerably quiet in that quarter of the East since the time of his accession to the throne, and that from the intervention of various causes. His situation with respect to Persia (from whose dominion his father dismembered Herât, and which for some years flourished under the active administration of Curreen-Cawn) and the alarming growth of the Seiks, are probably the greatest weight with him.

The alarm has, however, more than once been spread, that Timur-Shaw had advanced to the banks of the river Attock, with a view of penetrating into Hindostan ;

tan ; nor has the report been always without foundation. He has indisputably meditated it at different times, and on the plausible grounds of securing to the wretched descendant of Tamerlane (to whose family, as we have already seen, he is allied by marriage) more respect and support from his aspiring Omrahs, or at once to re-establish him in the full possession of all his rightful authority. These have been the reasons publicly assigned. But however well inclined Timur-Shaw may have been to have embarked in such an enterprize, his own circumstances since the death of his father have been too unfavourable to admit of it. Till very lately he has had much to struggle with : chieftains in alarming divisions amongst themselves ; a considerable part of his subjects disaffected, and a brother in open rebellion.

Thus situated, it is evident that Timur could not either with prudence or with safety have ventured on an undertaking,

the issue of which would have been at best but problematical : moreover, he was certain of a determined opposition from the Seiks of Punjaub and Lahore, through whose dominions he was necessarily to pass; an opposition which his father, as he well knew, though possessed of more power than himself, had with difficulty surmounted, nay, to which he was, in more than one instance, obliged to give way.

But though neither the means nor the political situation of affairs have hitherto been favourable to Timur-Shaw, it yet cannot be denied, but that an invasion of Hindostan is at this period more practicable with him than it has been at any one time since his accession to the government. The internal disorders of his own kingdom have entirely subsided. His ambitious brother, Secundar-Shaw, has become a vagrant fugitive, and the faction which supported him has been annihilated. The change in the affairs of Dehli,

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occasioned by the death of Nudjif-Cawn, the captain-general of the Mogul armies, and the assassination of his kinsman and successor, Mahommed-Shuffei-Beig, have also been particularly favourable to foreign interposition : besides which, such divisions have crept in among the Seiks, as must greatly facilitate a progress through their territories. In a word, the son of Abdali, should he ever engage in such an enterprize, may acquire an influence in the political scale of Hindostan, which it might at this day be deemed somewhat visionary to suggest.

Hindostan was visited seven different times by the Dourâni-Achmed-Shaw. First, with Nadir-Shaw, in the year of Christ 1737 ; second, in 1746, when he took Lahore, and sacked Sirhind ; third, in 1749, when he settled, in imitation of Nadir-Shaw, certain tributes to be paid him by the Mogul government for the provinces of Guzurat, Sealkoat, Aurungabad and Poursuroar ; fourth, in the year

1751, when he defeated the Imperial general, and afterwards appointed him his deputy in Lahore ; fifth, in 1756, when, in revenge for the expulsion of his governor of Lahore, he entered and plundered Dehli, and advanced to the eastward even as far as Agra ; sixth, in 1759, when his son, Timur-Shaw, opposed the Seiks, Mahrattahs, and Adinah-Beig-Cawn, a revolted governor of Lahore, and when he himself the year afterwards gained the decisive victory of Panniput ; seventh, in 1761, when the Seiks, who by this time had grown into some strength, taking advantage of his absence, had attacked and killed his Viceroy in Lahore, and had possessed themselves of that city and its dependencies, which they erected into a sovereignty, but which he afterwards dispossessed them of.

We have mentioned the Seiks. They are a powerful and an extraordinary people : until very lately, however, they have been quite unknown to the Europeans ;

peans : the cause of this shall be explained hereafter. The Seiks were originally of the tribe of Hindoos, called Jates. They are now composed of all casts. They admit profelytes from all religions; and even allow them to retain a belief of their former persuasions, and to perform their several rites, provided they comply with the external duties of a Seik, which are but few and simple. They never, it is true, heartily adopt a Mussulman. A disciple of the Koran, though in every respect a Seik, they distinguish by the name of Nemazi-Singh, which denotes him to be a renegade Mahommedan.

The Seiks have a custom peculiar to themselves, and dissimilar to the principles and practice of every other people of the East. They suffer the hair to grow on every part of the body without cutting or shaving. Towards the close of Aurungzebe's reign, they were obliged, indeed, in order to conceal themselves from persecution, to cut off their hair. Their founder,

der, as a distinguishing mark, established this custom. The Seiks have a high notion of the equality of mankind. They carry this so far, that the lowest among them pay no sort of respect to the highest. They never rise to salute each other, or bend the head. They believe in a God, but have an implicit faith in their high priest, or Gooiû. In the infancy of their society, they were celebrated, and are still said to be remarkable for benevolence and attention to travellers and strangers. A stranger and a relation they consider as one and the same.

Being composed of all sects, though their origin was in fanaticism, they cannot with propriety be said to have any particular characteristic. Their manners are plain and simple: moderate in their living and dress, and honest in their dealings. Their cities and principal towns abound with Mahommedan artificers and tradesmen, who are most liberally encouraged. They countenance and protect all
foreign

foreign merchants. The ryots and farmers are assessed with moderation : not a moiety so much as they are by Europeans, Mohammedans and Hindoos. Their government is most lenient. Even many Affghan families have hereditary estates in their dominions, which they allow them quietly to possess. Their wars have, however, it must be confessed, shewn them in a different point of view. They have plundered, oppressed, and been guilty of every enormity.

The Seiks first began to establish themselves in the provinces of Punjaub, Moul-tan, Lahore, and the countries adjacent to Lahore, in the reign of Shaw-Jehan. Their numbers at that period were very inconsiderable. About the year of the Higeira 1123, or of Christ 1713, they first made a hostile appearance under their leader Nanick-Shaw, in Punjaub. They defeated the Phoujdar of Sirhind; but were afterwards repulsed by the Mogul, and driven from that province. The first
chief

chief of the family of Nanick-Shaw was called Nanick, or Goorû, which in the Seik language signifies Divine Presence. He was born in the 880th year of the Higeira, in the reign of Sultan Bhaloul, of the tribe of Loudy. The government continued in succession to his descendants till the time of Allum-Gheer, when the reigning Goorû, Gobind-Sing, accompanying that monarch on his march to the Decan, died. It then became extinct; nor has any single person held it since.

Aurungzebe, whose cruelty was equal to his dissimulation and hypocrisy, persecuted the Seiks. Feigning to be alarmed, he let loose the zealous and enthusiastic ministers of his vengeance against them. They fell in all parts. Their Goorû was treacherously circumvented, taken and hanged. No end appeared to their sufferings. They at last resolved on the measure of cutting off their hair, and of that way concealing themselves till the moment should arrive for retaliation and revenge.

revenge. Bahadur-Shaw trod in the steps of his father. He murdered the Seiks wherever they were to be found. Nor could he prevail upon them to abjure their principles, and profess Mohammedanism, though that alternative was offered to them. Magnanimity and fortitude grew, as intolerance increased. Persecuted and scattered though they were, they all had an attraction to one common center; and to that center they were certain to return when a cessation of difficulties should take place.

At length being freed from the Mohammedan yoke, the Seiks assembled from their lurking places, and formed themselves into a new community. They adopted no regular system of government. The richer part assumed the title of Rajah, and annexed to it a full and sovereign authority, independent of each other. The next in consideration called themselves Sardars, and established an equal share of independency, both of each other and of the

the Rajahs. They formed a foederal af-fociation, not a commonwealth, as it hath been erroneoufly denominated. They erected, as it were, diftinct principalities; to act together in concert, only when a common enterprize fhould be in queftion. Their leaders were then to afsemble in congreffs, on a perfect equality, and each to rear his ftandard in the general caufe.

From fmall beginnings, like the Mah-rattahs, the Seiks have rifen to fuch an alarming degree of confequence, that they now poffefs an extent of dominion, computed at eight hundred miles in length, and four hundred miles in breadth; its capital Lahore. Their general army, entirely compofed of cavalry, is fupposed to exceed an hundred thoufand fighting men, armed with fwords, pikes, bows and arrows. An inftance of their power may be gathered from the ftrength of one of their Rajahs, Cheefta-Sing, who can bring into the field a body of thirty thoufand of his own immediate adherents.

As the Mahrattahs fall (and that they are on the wane seems to be indisputable) the Seiks must rise. With a horse and accoutrements every adventurer may find an asylum with the Seiks. They have no prejudices or dislikes. Their body, like a vast ocean, receiving supplies from every possible direction, must rapidly swell and encroach on every thing that is near it.

The influence and almost irresistible force of the Seiks have for some years past alarmed the powers of Hindostan. Achmed-Cawn, indeed, the father of Timur-Shaw, on his return from the last invasion of Dehli, took from the Seiks their capital of Lahore: but they afterwards retook it, and in a pitched battle with him totally routed his army, which was composed of upwards of an hundred thousand Mongul Tartars, Kalmucks and Persians; neither could he in two several attempts which he afterwards made, wipe away the disgrace. The river Attock they rendered impassable. Timur-Shaw
has

has likewise met with the same bad fortune, and that even more frequently than his father.

It is not, therefore, risking too much to say, that the Seiks are a power which should be carefully watched by the English. They certainly are of great consequence in the political scale of India. Large bodies of them annually quit their homes, and advance to the frontiers of the Owd dominions; besides others, who, though not exclusively of the community, are yet in every respect Seiks. Gujput-Singh, Ummar-Singh, and the chiefs who possess the districts of Kur-naul, Thannaiffer, Puttialah, &c. are of this number. They are absolutely Seiks, although they have little intercourse with the more distant leaders of Punjaub and Lahore.

These chiefs originally belonged to one or other of the inferior tribes of Hindoos; but having erected their Zemindaries into
inde-

independencies, they found it politically convenient to adopt the manners, and assume the name of their northern neighbours: but neither the character nor the power of the latter should be estimated from the figure or appearance of the chiefs who reside in the neighbourhood of Paniput and Leharinpoor. For though their strength has of late been sufficient to furnish considerable employment to Nudjif-Cawn and his successors; to lay Zabtah-Cawn, whose country is situated between the Ganges and the Jumna, under heavy contributions, and to molest even the suburbs of Dehli; yet they are neither to be compared with the genuine Seiks for political importance, nor regarded on account of their institutions, in the same important view.

They claim an attention, however, because they have frequently committed ravages in different parts of the territories of our ally of Owd, the Vizier Aufuph-Ul-Dowlah, and excited claims among

the Zemindars on the north-west borders, which have considerably affected his revenues. Two years are not elapsed, since they laid the city of Annapur (which is situated on the western banks of the Ganges) under contribution. They have even made many predatory incursions into the Upper Rohilcund, in defiance of detachments from the English military stations in Oud, and that of Darnagur in Rohilcund itself. In a word, the Seiks and their relatives, have every appearance of being one day or other a very formidable power in Hindostan.

We now come to the Rohillas, whose power, though considerably on the decline, is by no means annihilated, and may possibly be revived under a future leader, who shall be more active and enterprising, than either of the reigning chiefs of that tribe. A general sketch of their history, therefore, cannot, we hope, be unacceptable to the reader; especially, as at one period they bore no unimportant part in the affairs

fairs of Hindostan. It will likewise diffuse a light over the transactions of other states, hereafter to be considered.

The Rohillas are originally from a province of Affghanistan, called Roh. In the reign of the emperor Humaioon, a certain adventurer, of the Affghan tribe, grew into great consideration at the court of Dehli. Humaioon conferred honours and riches on him with a most lavish hand. He elected him his chief favourite; and almost divided with him the vast authority of the House of Timur. The consequence was, that the subject became too powerful for the sovereign. Gratitude sunk as ambition opened in seductive prospect. The result was open rebellion. Shere Shah (for such was his name) marched against his master and benefactor; gave him battle at Lucknow, defeated and expelled him from Hindostan. He did not, however, enjoy his victory long. He died at Dehli, and

Humaioon returning, reascended the throne of his ancestors.

Allured by the success of Shere Shah, a large body of the tribe of Affghans or Patans (who are at present a branch of Mohammedans) issued about this time from the northern mountains, and fixed their residence in Berelli, Moradabad, Sumbul, Budâow, and the parts adjacent, known by the general name of Kuttaihr. Of this body was Dâood-Cawn, of the tribe of Rohillas, who is generally considered as the founder of the government, known under that name in Hindostan.

This man, eminently possessed of that bravery, and spirit of enterprise, which marked the national character of an Affghan, soon raised himself to consequence. The numbers who followed his standard enabled him to push his conquests farther than any of those adventurers who preceded him. His arms were every where victorious. He aimed at a great extent of
dominion,

dominion, and probably would have acquired it, had he not been treacherously put to death by the Rajah of Cumâoon *, who became jealous of his increasing influence. Dâood - Cawn left two sons, Mohammed-Cawn, and Ali-Mohammed-Cawn : the latter, indeed an adopted one, Ali being the son of an Hindoo Zemin-dar, whom Dâood had subjugated †. The adherents of Dâood attached themselves to the interests of Ali-Mohammed.

Ali-Mohammed educated with care, and naturally possessing those captivating qualifications in a military character, intrepidity, munificence, and candour, speedily established the authority to which he had

* Cumâoon is the name of a mountainous district, bordering the north-east part of Kutaihr. The Rajah of Cumâoon was heretofore a Prince of high estimation. The Ganges and the Jumna are supposed, by eastern geographers, to take their rise in his dominions.

† Colonel Dowe erroneously calls Ali-Mohammed a soldier of fortune, and traces him to the mountains of Cabulistan.

been called. The foundation laid by Dâood, for a general supremacy, was solid. Ali had nothing but the superstructure to rear, and that he accomplished. The leaders of Kutailr submitted to his sway.

The Mogul empire being at this time in great distraction, and party feuds raging at Dehli, Ali-Mohammed resolved upon a decided interference between the Vizier and his opponent Omrahs. But a subject more worthy of his genius presented itself. The emperor was involved in difficulties, from a formidable party of Sirjeds, who were rebelliously in arms. He applied to Ali-Mohammed: Ali immediately took the field, and joining the Imperial troops, unexpectedly fell upon the Sirjeds. The contest was bloody, but Ali acquired the day, having slain the leader of the insurgents with his own hands. He then repaired to Dehli, and together with a considerable extent of country, had the dignities of Nabob

Nabob and Omrah conferred on him by the Mogul.

Ali-Mohammed now fixed his residence at the city of Owlah. But envy at the royal favours thus justly heaped on him, called forth powerful enemies ; among the rest, the Rajah Hurranund, governor of Morâdabad. This Rajah, under some frivolous pretext, collected an army, and proceeded against him. Ali strove to deprecate his wrath. No intreaties, no submissions could soften the implacable Hindoo. He rejected Ali's propositions with indignation and scorn. Ali, driven to extremity, was compelled to fight. He hastily assembled his troops, gave the Rajah battle, and totally discomfited him.

Enraged at the defeat of the governor of Morâdabad, the Vizier, who had secretly spurred him on to hostilities against Ali, lost no time in drawing together a considerable army, which placing under the command of his son, he ordered to pro-

ceed most vigorously against the Affghans. Ali-Mohammed posted himself at Daranagur. There the Imperialists found him. Averse from so serious and unprofitable a contest, Ali-Mohammed, with a promptitude and a brilliancy of character peculiar to himself, resolved at once upon a measure, which he hoped would prevent the unnecessary effusion of blood. He ventured with a small guard to present himself before the Vizier's son, and boldly to assert his innocence. The plan had its desired effect. Meir-Munoo, the Imperial general, struck with admiration at the conduct of Ali-Mohammed, received him with courtesy and kindness. He entered into terms with him; and even as a ratification of personal friendship, agreed upon a marriage between his younger brother and the daughter of Ali. Both armies then drew off; that of the Mogul marched to Dehli; that of Ali-Mohammed to his capital of Owlah.

Ali,

Ali, by his alliance with the Vizier, apprehending no farther disturbance from the machinations of the court, and having a steady body of troops, took the resolution of punishing the Rajah of Cumâoon, for the murder of his father Dâood. To Cumâoon he accordingly marched, and there most amply revenged the wrongs of his benefactor. The Rajah submitted himself to the invader, and even agreed to govern his own hereditary dominion as his Foujdar or deputy. He even acquiesced in the mortifying condition of surrendering the most beautiful and valuable districts of Cumâoon, to the adherents and followers of the Patan.

Ali-Mohammed had not been long returned to Owlah, when he received intelligence of a disturbance between the new settlers in Cumâoon, and certain of the household of Sufder-Jung, who were on their way to Dehli; and whose lord was then in the highest influence and credit with the emperor. He heard likewise of
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the vengeance denounced against him by the Persian : and here commences the quarrel between the Rohillas and the Nabobs of Owd.

Sufder-Jung, irritated by the indignities offered to his people, complained to the emperor of the insult, and demanded the exemplary punishment of Ali-Mohammed. The Vizier, or acting minister, expressed himself anxious to see him gratified with ample satisfaction : but he secretly espoused the cause of Ali-Mohammed. Sufder-Jung, however, assembled a considerable army, and proceeded towards Owdah. The Rajahputes, Jates, and Bundaillais (more of whom in the sequel) joined him on the march ; as did the Soubahdar of Furrokhabad, and divers powerful chiefs. Even the emperor accompanied him in the expedition.

The Rohilla, deserted by all, excepting his Affghans, who were determined to support him, or perish in his defence,

shut himself up in the fort of Bunghur, which is situated between Owlah and Budâoon. Here he was invested by Sufder-Jung, and reduced to the last extremities: but the Vizier was resolved he should not fall. He solicited his pardon from the emperor. The emperor in veneration of the high character and abilities of Ali, granted it. The siege was then raised, in opposition to Sufder-Jung, who implored the extirpation of the whole race; and the Imperial forces (under the express stipulation of Ali-Mohammed's submitting himself unconditionally to the royal authority) were remanded to their respective stations. Ali-Mohammed was carried prisoner to Dehli.

The government of Budâoon and Owlah, though now wrested from Ali-Mohammed, was still, through the Vizier's means, continued in the Affghans. Sufder-Jung, inwardly dissatisfied at this predilection, was yet forced to appear cheerfully acquiescent. Neither was it con-

venient

venient for him to murmur, although his solicitation, that the prisoner should be confided to his charge, was treated with inattention. In this state of affairs, the court of Dehli received secret information, that the Rohillas were about to rise. Orders were issued, that they should, on no consideration, be allowed to cross the Jumna or Ganges. But it was too late. Five thousand of the most determined, in different disguises, had collected themselves, and unexpectedly falling upon the guards of Ali-Mohammed, at Chaur-Naugh, where he was confined, effected his release, after a captivity of two years.

The enlargement of Ali-Mohammed again roused the rage and inveterate malice of Sufder-Jung. He counselled his sovereign to grant them neither countenance nor mercy: but the Vizier still kept the line of moderation. He recommended the preferable and less sanguinary measure, of removing them to a more distant

tant quarter of the Mogul dominions. The emperor listened to the Vizier. Sirhind was fixed on as their place of residence, and Ali-Mohammed (the Vizier becoming security for his future good behaviour) was appointed their governor.

At this time Ali-Mohammed had six sons, Abdoolah-Cawn, Fyzoolah-Cawn *, Sadoula-Cawn, Mohammed-Yar-Cawn, Alleyar-Cawn, and Murtuza-Cawn. The two eldest he left as hostages with the Vizier.

In his government of Sirhind, Ali-Mohammed gave much satisfaction: but the tranquillity of Sirhind, and of all Hindostan, was at once interrupted by the invasion of the Dourâni Achmed-Shaw, who was already advanced as far as Lahore. The Shahzaddah, with a numerous army, immediately took the field to

* Fyzoolah Cawn, the present Rohilla chief of Rampoor, with whom Shujah-Ul-Dowlah, under the guarantee of the English, concluded the treaty of Lohore in the year 1774.

oppose him. The Vizier served under the Shahzaddah, as second in command.

The opportunity was now propitious to Ali-Mohammed. He seized it with eagerness; and with a celerity and privacy almost incredible; flying, as it were, to regain his former capital of Oulah, he crossed the Jumna and the Ganges; possessed himself of all the territory eastward of those rivers, from Duranagur to Shahjahanpour, including Morâdabad, Sumbul, Ouroal and Berelli, which places were held in jaghire by the Vizier, Suffer-Jung, by Feroz-Jung, Zolfkâr, and others the most considerable officers of the empire; and without any serious resistance at last arrived at Oulah.

The Emperor, plunged in difficulties of an alarming nature by the Dourâni, was reduced to the necessity of remaining quiet under this indignity. The Dourâni, it is true, had been defeated by the Shahzaddah at Sirhind: but the victory had

had been dear to the empire ; the Vizier was killed, and the Mogul troops so greatly reduced, that Achmed-Shaw had been enabled to plunder the city of Sirhind, (whence he took the eldest sons of Ali-Mohammed) and to retreat at leisure to Herât.

Ali was now in possession of Morâdabad, the jaghire of the late Vizier ; of Berelli, that of Nizam-Ul-Mulc ; and of Dhampoor, Sheerkoat, Nudeenah, and other places, the property of Sufder-Jung. His conduct on these acquisitions was such as might be expected. He turned out the governors and magistrates, and obliged them (though at the same time conferring upon them considerable presents) to cross the Ganges. He then appointed others in their room, and established a system of government both prudent and politic. He next proceeded to the subjugation of the refractory Zemindars of Kuttaihr, and those on the skirts of the hills, who were chiefly Rajahputes ; and
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having annexed their territories likewise to those he had already acquired, he drove the unfortunate chiefs to the northward of the Ganges ; he treated their subjects, however, with lenity and indulgence.

Sufder-Jung and the Omrahs already mentioned, were under the political necessity of bearing patiently the loss of their respective jaghires. They even found it expedient to affect an entire satisfaction at the proceedings of the Rohilla, and feverally to assure him of their friendship. But the period of Ali-Mohammed's career was now drawing to a close. In the height of this consequence and consideration, he was suddenly seized with a disease, which put an end to his glory and existence in the third year of the reign of Achmed-Shaw.

Ali-Mohammed, who to his last moment possessed liberality and magnificence of spirit, resolved not to quit the world with less eclat than he had universally acquired

quired in his progress through life. Accordingly, assembling his troops, he had himself borne in a litter before them, and then taking an affectionate leave, directed the full payment of their arrears. He next ordered a largess of five and twenty lacks of rupees to the immediate adherents of his family; and finally concluded the melancholy scene, by imploring the continuance of their attachment to his children, and by settling the government for the time being (as his two eldest sons were then in captivity) in the third, the young Sadoulah-Cawn, but under the guidance of a regency, at the head of which he placed Hafiz-Rhamet *.

On the death of Ali-Mohammed, the court of Dehli conceived that all farther efforts to establish independence would cease on the part of the Rohillas, and they in consequence appointed a successor to him in the

* Hafiz-Rhamet, the principal chief of the Rohillas, when Rohilcund was invaded and subdued by the English and Shujah-Ul-Dowlah in 1774.

government of Morâdabad : but they were wrong in the conclusion ; the Rohillas adhered pertinaciously to the family of Ali - Mohammed. They attacked the new-appointed governor, on his attempting to possess himself of the Foujdary by force, and slew him and the followers to a man. They defeated, likewise, in a pitched and desperate engagement, a more formidable body of Patans, led on by Kaiem-Jung-Bungush, the Patan chief of Furrokhabad, and killed him, together with at least a moiety of his troops, and almost the whole of his principal Sardars.

Their spoil in this action was considerable. The horses and elephants of the enemy, with all the military chests, fell into their hands. Nor was the administration of Delhi displeased at their success ; and though Sufder-Jung, the Vizier, detested the Rohillas, he was still more exasperated against Kaiem-Jung-Bungush and his Patans : so much so, indeed, that
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he lost not a moment in repairing to Furrokhabad, where he plundered in the Emperor's name with a hand of merciless avidity, and even dragged away to confinement the mother and brothers, excepting one who escaped, of Kaiem-Jung; imprisoning the former at Allahabad, and the latter in his capital of Owd.

But the Rohillas were not to continue in this system of politics. The depression of the foes of Sufder-Jung conduced too much to the elevation of that ambitious Omrah, who seemed soaring to a dangerous pitch of authority. They were aware of the hatred he bore them. Their extirpation was, they were certain, his most favourite object. They accordingly listened to propositions from the Patans. Achmed-Cawn-Bungush, the brother of Kaiem-Jung, was joined by their forces. They proceeded immediately to Furrokhabad, and repossessed themselves of that province and city. They then rushed towards Owd and Allahabad. These places submit-

ted to their arms. They afterwards fought the general of Sufder-Jung, and defeated him. In a word, so rapid and alarming was their progress, that Sufder-Jung obtained the Emperor's permission to attack them with the forces of the empire, and to engage even a body of Mahrattahs and Jates to his assistance.

The Rohillas and Patans, informed of the Imperial preparations, resolved to meet the Vizier boldly in the field. They came up with him in the Upper Rohilcund. The fight began, and was obstinately maintained; but the day was ultimately in favour of the Rohillas. The Mahrattahs, bought off by secret emissaries during the heat of the action, withdrew from the Vizier. The Rohillas then pushed on with redoubled vigour. The Vizier gave way. Distraction seized on the Emperor's troops. They fled. The Imperial standards fell into the hands of the Rohillas, who pursued their fugitive enemy almost to the gates of Dehli.

The

The Rohillas and Patans after this decisive victory separated and repaired to their respective countries. Not so, Sufder-Jung. Shortly after his disgraceful return to Dehli he was degraded from the Vizarrut : but he was still powerful ; inso-much, that he rebelliously took up arms against his Sovereign. In this new scene of affairs, the Rohilla chiefs saw that they again were to act a conspicuous part. The Mogul wrote to them, demanding their assistance. Sufder-Jung also solicited and proffered them his alliance. Their situation was flattering, but critical. They were eagerly courted for support by the most considerable powers of Hindostan : but neutrality was the wisest line ; and that, though they marched towards Dehli, they were determined to pursue.

This, indeed, can only be said of the major part of the Rohillas. One body of them went over to the Emperor under Nudjub-Ul-Dowlah *, of whom it is ne-

* Nubjub-Ul-Dowlah, father of the present Zabtha-Cawn, the Rohilla chief of Seharinpoor.

cessary in this place to be somewhat particular. Nudjub-Ul-Dowlah joining the Imperial standard with his Rohillas, and very strongly riveting himself in the good opinion of his master, was shortly held up as a counterpoise to the overgrown influence of Ghazy-Ul-Deen-Cawn, the nephew of Sudder-Jung, predecessor in the Vizarut, and the grandson of Nizam-Ul-Mulck, of the Decan. He even had the address to get himself appointed Buckshee, or treasurer of the empire. This sudden exaltation drew upon Nudjub-Ul-Dowlah the jealousy of Ghazy-Ul-Deen-Cawn, the Ummen-Ul-Umrah. Both parties took up arms. These differences, however, were for the time fortunately accommodated. The Rohilla chief found himself unequal to the contest, therefore prudently resigned, and retired to his capital of Nujabad; but he meditated revenge. Nor was Ghazy-Ul-Deen-Cawn more pacifically inclined.

This pent-up animosity worked with mischievous and bloody rage. Ghazy-Ul-Deen-

Deen-Cawn, on his part, gave secret instruction for the assassination of the Emperor Allum-Gier, whom he knew to be favourable to his rival, and then took the field at the head of that same Emperor's army. And Nudjub-Ul-Dowlah, not to be behindhand with him, called in the assistance of the Dourâni, Achmed-Shaw; roused his confederate Rohillas; and even prevailed on Shujah-Ul-Dowlah, who had now succeeded his father Sudder-Jung in the Soubadary of Owd, and who was the hereditary enemy of Ghazy-Ul-Deen-Cawn, to join in the alliance. Nor were the Imperial Party, whom Ghazy-Ul-Deen affected to lead, without allies; they had Jates, Rajahputes, and a large body of mercenary Mahrattahs to assist them. A battle ensued. Ghazy-Ul-Deen-Cawn was defeated. He again risked an engagement; (Shujah-Ul-Dowlah having fled to the Rohillas) but in this he was totally discomfited. The combined forces of the Rohillas and Dourâni gained a decided victory. The flight

of the Imperialists was general. The allies pursued, and reaching Dehli, sacked that devoted city for twenty-one days. Numbers were slain on both sides : but the slaughter among the Mahrattahs was the most considerable*.

The Dourâni, Achmed-Shaw, who commanded as general, highly distinguished the Rohillas, Hafiz Rhamet and Doonda-

* There is some little variation in the accounts of this famous battle of Panniput. It is said, that the Mahrattahs having joined Ghazy-Ul-Deen-Cawn, who had deprived the Emperor Achmet-Shaw of his sight, deposed him, murdered his prime minister, and assassinated the unhappy Allum-Gier, marched from Dehli, and were met on the plains of Panniput by the Dourâni, Rohillas, Shujah-Ul-Dowlah, and other confederate powers. That a dreadful carnage attended the victory gained by the Dourâni ; and, as is mentioned in the text, particularly amongst the Mahrattah chiefs, among whom were numbered the Bhow, Biswap Rah-Ragah, and Junkoo. And that the Dourâni then returned to Dehli, and deposing Shaw-Jehan, the prince raised to the throne by the Bhow, had placed the crown on the head of Jewan-Bukht, in the absence of his father, Ali-Goher, (the present Emperor, Shaw-Aulum) to whom he had unsuccessfully proffered the reins of government.

Cawn,

Cawn, for their gallantry and good conduct. On the first he bestowed Etawa, though then the jaghire and government of the Mogul's second son, Baber. And on the latter the jaghire of Shekoabad: districts, indeed, that they were afterwards deprived of by the Mahrattahs, with whom they were never able to form an alliance. But the Dourâni could not prevail on them to admit of the pretensions of the two elder sons of Ali-Mohammed, whom he had brought with him from Herât, and who, on being released from captivity, demanded the surrendry of the rights bequeathed to them by their father. Sadoolah-Cawn, their younger brother and reigning Prince, Hafiz-Rhamet, and the other chiefs, had tasted too much of the sweets of independency; they felt their strength, and, therefore, obliged the eldest of Ali's sons to content himself with the jaghire of Oojhani: and the second, Fyzoolah-Cawn, with the Pergunnahs of Rampore and Shawabad.

The

The battle of Panniput, which is marked with peculiar celebrity by the Rohilla historians, established a permanent and inveterate antipathy between the Mahrattahs and Rohillas. The former receiving, in the number of chiefs slain, that crush which has since, by engendering internal strife and contest, brought their consequence to a very evident declension. This, however, in its proper place. The Dourâni having first driven Ghazy-Ul-Deen-Cawn out of Hindostan, marched to Dehli with the Rohillas, raised Jewan-Bukht to the throne of the Moguls, and appointed Shujah-Ul-Dowlah, of Owd, to be his Vizier. This measure was of consequence to the Rohillas: it seemed to promise them every possible protection: nor was it long before they had occasion to appeal to it. The Mahrattahs returned to revenge their loss. At first the Rohillas relied on their own resources; but their adversaries were too numerous and formidable. They then solicited assistance from Shujah-Ul-Dowlah. The Vizier granted it. He even prevailed

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ed on the English to march a brigade to their support. And here commences the epocha of the ruin of the Rohillas.

No sooner had the Mahrattahs retired, but Shujah-Ul-Dowlah demanded of the Rohillas a considerable sum of money, for the seasonable relief he had afforded them. He even, it is alledged, declared that he had bought off the Mahrattahs with the sum of forty lacks of rupees. True or false, the demand he made on the Rohillas was, as we have said, considerable. Unfortunately for this people, they refused compliance with it. They even asserted, that the claim was without foundation.

Shujah-Ul-Dowlah, who, considering the rooted dislike of his father, Sufder-Jung, to the Rohillas, could never be supposed cordially their friend, took fire at this indignity and ingratitude. He threatened exemplary revenge. Nor was it long before he carried his vengeance into execution. He again applied to his allies the English
for

for assistance. The English granted it. Rohilcund was invaded; and Hafiz-Rhamet, the Rohilla general, being killed in the only action which happened, the whole country was quickly subdued. Fyzoolah-Cawn, and the other remaining chiefs, fled, with their followers, to Loll-Dong. Shujah-Ul-Dowlah and the English pursued. The issue was, Fyzoolah-Cawn, the surviving son in authority of Ali-Mohammed, the founder of the Rohilla state, was forced to submit, and to content himself under the tenure of dependency on the Vizier, with a jaghire of fifteen lacks of rupees per annum; a sum which would have been wrested from him long since (though no person's conduct can be less intriguing or obnoxious) had he not been guaranteed in the possession of it by the English.

We have now drawn the history of the Rohillas to a conclusion. Fyzoolah-Cawn is a good farmer, holds in jaghire a considerable district of country, and resides at Rhampoor, which is situated nearly in the

heart of Kuttaihr. Zabtha-Cawn, the son of Nudjub-Ul-Dowlah, who was master of Nujubabad, Patter-Guhr, Daranagur, and other northern parts, (and who, though treacherous to his countrymen, being with Shujah-Ul-Dowlah on the day of action, when Hafiz-Rhamet was killed, and who was afterwards stripped of his possessions by the Vizier) is also possessed of a province, under the dominion of the successors of the late Ummen-Ul-Umrah, Nudjif-Cawn. These are, however, only the remains of Rohilla greatness; Fyzoolah-Cawn in particular, is thoroughly unimportant; Zabtha-Cawn may, indeed, prove otherwise. He has often threatened to enter the Upper Rohilcund, and re-establish himself in the government of Nudjubabad, and the rest of his patrimonial inheritance. Hence the necessity of watching his motions, and the propriety of the English in considering him as a chief, with whom they are politically concerned.

Having nearly finished our account of the leading nations and Princes of Hindostan,

doftan, we will take a flight review of the principal of thofe inferior powers, on the eastern fide of the Peninfula, whether tributary or independent, who, in refpect to the former, hold an intermediate rank on the political fcale; and who, though they may not poffefs any very great influence or confequence, are yet fufficiently important to merit, in fome degree, the attention of the reader.

The chief of thefe is Purtaub Singh Sewai. He may be faid to be at the head of the Rajahpute tribes, who are at this day divided into fo many petty principalities, that it would be ufelefs to enumerate them. His capital is Jypoor, or Jynuggur, which is fituated about fixty cofs to the S. W. of Agra. Some years fince the power and authority of this little kingdom were very confiderable under Madho-Singh, who was the founder of it: but the ambition of Nudjif-Cawn (whose name has already occurred) was fatal to this family. The predecessor of the present

Rajah was constrained to submit to the superior force of the Imperial general: and Purtaub Singh succeeded to his paternal dominions only as a tributary. In which condition, however, he has not remained without vigorous, though ineffectual, attempts to shake off the yoke. But the death of Nudjif-Cawn, and the distractions which have followed that event, may lead to his emancipation, and to the re-establishment of the Jypoor branch of Rajahputes. He has of late, indeed, been engaged in a quarrel, not at all calculated to facilitate the attainment of this object, having last year commenced hostilities against another Rajahpute Prince (named also Purtaub Singh) who rules over Māchurra. This Rajah, who was likewise reduced to the state of a tributary by Nudjif-Cawn, possesses a small district, situated between Jynaggur and the present southern boundaries of Agra. United, these Princes would be more than a match for the successor of Nudjif-Cawn. But, so long as they enfeeble themselves by
division,

division, it will be no difficult task to confirm them both in subjection.

Next to the Rajah of Jynaggur, may be ranked Runjeet-Singh, the descendant of Soorudge-Mull, who first established the authority of the Jates in the Imperial city of Agra, and its neighbourhood. This Prince, whose name has already been mentioned, possessed great weight in his time. He lost his life in a battle with Nudjub-Ul-Dowlah, in the vicinity of Deig. After his death, the power of his family began rapidly to decline. In the year 1774, Nudjif-Cawn drove Runjeet-Singh out of Agra; and in the year 1776 dispossessed him of Deig, and of the greatest part of the territories, which Soorudge-Mull had erected into a principality. At the death of Nudjif-Cawn, Runjeet-Singh possessed neither dominion nor consequence; but since that event, he seems to have made some efforts for the recovery of both.

But

Besides Runjeet Singh, there are other inconsiderable Rajahs of the Jate tribe. But the only one who can at present claim our notice is Chutteer-Singh, the Ranah of Gohud. The country of this Prince lies between the Jumna and the pass of Narwar. He first grew into consequence by his connection with the English, who extended his dominions, and put him in possession of the important fortress of Gualiar. His ingratitude to his benefactors, however, having been followed by the loss of almost all the advantages he had obtained through their means, it is probable that he will soon return to his original insignificance. And yet Mhadajee Scindia, who, at the close of the year 1783, was carrying on the most vigorous and successful hostilities against him, should not be allowed totally to subdue him. He constitutes a part of that barrier to the dominions of the Vizier (the ally of the English) which should always be kept firm against the Mahrattahs: a barrier which can only permanently exist, while those

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Rajahs,

Rajahs, who occupy the countries lying between the Jumna and the province of Malva, are screened and protected from those Mahrattahs.

The power of the Princes of Bundailcund was formerly considerable. Since 1777, when Hindoput died, it has decreased. This country was formerly divided into two districts, which were respectively governed by the Rajahs Nuttey-Singh and Suttur-Jeet. Hindoput was descended from a Dewan of one of those chieftains, and possessed the richest part of Bundailcund, which enabled him to maintain a standing force of thirty thousand horse and foot. At his decease he left three sons. The ministers, for their own aggrandisement, secured the succession to the second, who was a minor, in prejudice to the elder, who was arrived at man's estate. They permitted him, however, to retain possession of a jaghire of about nine lacks of rupees. The excluded Prince, from some accident or other had

it in his power to be serviceable to Colonel Leslie, when that officer marched with an English army through Bundailcund, on his way across the Peninsula of India. Colonel Leslie interested himself in his behalf, and obtained for him from the usurping Ministers an increase of revenue. But this advantage has not proved permanent. He now resides at Uktowah, which is about nine coss from Chatterpoor. He is in possession of no place of strength. His military force does not exceed four thousand men, and most of these are infantry. The income of his brother again is estimated at twenty-six lacks of rupees. He resides at Parnah or Punnah, which is a fortress of great strength. He maintains about two thousand horse, and ten thousand foot, but can raise upon an emergency a formidable army.

Independent of the Princes of the House of Hindoput, there are two other Rajahs of Bundailcund, who pride themselves in their descent from Chatter-Sawl, who

founded Punnah and Chatterpoor, about one hundred and forty years ago, and who was the first Rajah of his family. The one resides at Jaitpoor; his revenue is about fourteen lacks of rupees; and he is supported in his possessions by the Mah-rattah Generals, who govern Calpee (on the Jumna) Juhsi, and other districts, lying between that river and Bundailcund on one side, and the Province of Malwa on the other. Churkarie is the place of residence of the other. His revenue is estimated at thirteen lacks of rupees. He maintains about six thousand foot, and fifteen hundred horse. Farther on the Rajahpute subject would be unnecessary.

Before we close, however, our account of these minor powers, it will be proper to add a few words respecting the Patans of Furrokhabad. Mohammed-Cawn, of the Affghan tribe of Bungush, was the first who erected the standard of independency in that city. Under this chief, the Patans of Mow (a town near Furrokhabad,

bad, from which they received a designation) cut a considerable figure. When Caïm-Jung was at their head, they were so formidable, as to threaten the annihilation of the Rohilla state, founded by Ali-Mohammed-Cawn, as has been related in our account of the latter. Achmed-Cawn, the father of the present Nabob of Furrokhabad (Muzuffer-Jung) raised the reputation of his house to so high a pitch, that, while he was courted by the Rohillas, and respected by the court of Dehli, he was dreaded by Sufder-Jung, the Soubahdar of Owd. The descendants of Sufder-Jung, however, have in the end amply revenged the indignities he suffered, through the superior genius and fortune of Achmed-Cawn. The late Vizier, Shujah-*Ul*-Dowlah, taking advantage of the imbecility of Muzuffer-Jung, imposed a yoke upon him, under specious pretences, which he was never able to shake off. The present Vizier, his son, Aufuph-*Ul*-Dowlah, riveted those chains, and at length totally deprived him of his

country. He can be looked upon, therefore, only as the reduced and miserable representative of an illustrious family, which, not long since, held a distinguished rank among the powers of Hindostan.

From these more northern nations and kingdoms, proceeding towards the southern extremity of the Peninsula of India, we come to the extensive territories of the Soubahdar of the Decan. The weight which the predecessors of Nizam-Ally-Cawn, the present Soubahdar, possessed in all the transactions of Hindostan, hath already been the subject of our inquiry. The glory of the Nizamut, however, set with its brightest luminary Nizam-Ul-Mulc. Since that period, it has been gradually declining in its consequence; nor does it at this day possess any material influence, farther than the limits of its own domain.

The definitive treaty of Paris confirming Salabit-Jung in the Soubahdary of the
Decan,

Decan, Nizam - Ally - Cawn became, in course, his acknowledged successor, both by the English and the French *. How far a closer connection with the Soubahdar might be conformable to the interests of the English nation, is a matter that merits their coolest and most deliberate consideration. There is not a doubt of his standing in need of their assistance; nor is there the least reason to suppose, that many essential advantages might not be derived from a grant of it, were it afforded him under precise and stipulated conditions.

Situated at a great distance from the several presidencies of the English, the government of this prince is known but by report. His constant struggles at

* Nizam-Ally-Cawn deposed his brother, Salabit-Jung, and kept him in confinement a considerable while before his death. Success, as is always the case, drew upon him favours from Dehli. Shah-Aulum conferred upon him the viceroyalty of the Decan, and sent him phirmaunds for that purpose, although his brother was still living.

home have hitherto kept him in employment. The time may arrive when he may turn his arms another way.

The treaty concluded with him in August 1768, provides, that on proper requisition, and on condition that it conveniently can be spared, the English shall supply him with a certain force to assist him in his own country. This clause, has been evaded. Nizam-Ally-Cawn did apply for the stipulated assistance in 1775, and at a time when it conveniently could have been spared, and yet it was denied him; although, in return, he made an offer to the English of the Cuttack country *, which joins their Northern Circars

* The Cuttack province, however Nizam-Ally-Cawn may claim a right to it, is in the positive possession of the Rajah of Berar, Mhoodajee Bhonsalah. That it is not impossible to obtain it, and that it would be a great acquisition, cannot be denied. But the act, it is supposed, must be the Mahrattahs. Query, would not the repossessing him of that part of his dominions, refractorily held by his disaffected Zemindar, Nizam Shaw, be a ready means of accomplishing this point?

on the coast of Coromandel to the Bengal provinces; and would, it is probable, have easily been induced to relinquish the annual tribute, which is paid to him by the Company, of five lacks of rupees; and, what would have been of equal importance, perhaps, prevailed on his brother, Bazalet-Jung, Nabob of Adoni, to have immediately made over to the Company the Guntoor Circar;—a country which is theirs by phirmaund, but in his possession by agreement; and only reverts to them at his death, or on his infringement of a certain article of the treaty above mentioned *.

Present advantages even out of the question, an eye to future safety should ever actuate the English in their political transactions; and the necessity of such precaution will be too evident, should the Soubahdar of the Decan, at any future period, think proper to insist either upon a

* Bazalet-Jung is since dead.

compliance with the treaty of 1768, or, in case of a second refusal, deem it of utility to his impoverished treasury, to punish them for a breach of an agreement solemnly ratified in the name of the English nation *.

An idea of this nature is not built upon speculative apprehension; on the contrary, it hath its foundation in the universal principle of things. The national faith was pledged in consequence of some considerable concessions from the Soubahdar; that faith, therefore, being broken, and

* The Soubahdar of the Decan, on these very grounds, as he has publicly acknowledged to the English governments in India, set on foot that formidable combination in 1780, which, by including Hyder-Ally-Cawn and the Mahrattahs, threatened the very existence of British influence and rule in Hindostan. The happy result of able negotiations, on the part of the Government General of Bengal, alone warded off the blow. Had not Mhoodajee Bhonsalah, and Nizam-Ally-Cawn, been drawn from the confederacy, inevitable destruction must have ensued. Hyder and the Mahrattahs performed their parts; and in what manner, is too well known. The others remained neuter.

the

the Northern Circars being open to an invasion, a sudden devastation might spread itself through those provinces before even a soldier could be posted to withstand its progress. A moment's reflection, however, on the past transactions of the Decan, will set this matter in a clearer point of view.

When Colonel Caillaud took possession of the Northern Circars in 1766, in consequence of the phirmaund granted the year preceding by the Mogul, the jealousy and resentment of Nizam-Ally-Cawn were raised to the utmost pitch of extravagance. Other concurrent and powerful causes, however, led him to a conduct, which, at first, threatened only the Circars.

The political enmity, which had subsisted between Salabit-Jung and the Nabob Mohammed-Ally-Cawn still existed between the two Durbars; and this was farther increased by the Nabob's supposed negotiations and endeavours to depose Nizam-Ally-

Ally-Cawn, and acquire for himself the government of the Decan.

It was this jealousy and resentment of the Soubahdar against the Company for taking possession of the Circars, and against the Nabob for endeavouring to divest him of his government, and to seat himself on the musnud, which suggested to Hyder-Ally-Cawn the idea of an union with the Soubahdar for a double attack on the Circars in the North, and on the Trichinopoly country in the South *.

A treaty was accordingly set on foot, and negotiated between the Soubahdar and Hyder-Ally, by the Nabob's own brother, Mauphuz-Cawn, who, in disgust, had fled from his brother's to the Soubahdar's court. An offensive alliance was soon after concluded between the contracting parties against the English and the Carnatic; and, to retaliate the supposed injury

* This was in 1767.

offered to the Soubahdar by the Nabob, a funnud was granted by the Soubahdar to Hyder-Ally for the government of the Carnatic Payen Ghaut.

In consequence of this alliance, the Soubahdar prepared for action; and Hyder-Ally assembling his forces at Coimbatore, threatened the Trichinopoly country; when an army of Mahrattahs entering the Seera province, obliged him, for that time, to abandon the enterprise, in order to oppose them. Affairs were in this situation, when it was thought advisable to enter into a negociation with the Soubahdar, which ended in the above-mentioned treaty of August 1768.

What may be expected, therefore, in future, from a power so formidable, in some respects, as Nizam-Ally-Cawn, it is not difficult to conjecture. If not a secret enemy, he is certainly a precarious friend to the English; nor is there more than,

than one way of binding him steadily to them, and that is by fulfilling the agreements they have entered into with him, and thereby keeping a body of Europeans in the Decan, in the manner practised by the French during the governments of his immediate predecessors *.

* An attempt was made on the part of the Government General of Bengal, to carry a plan of this nature into execution in 1782. That they did not succeed, was owing to a spirit of discontent which appeared among their troops, who refused to march out of their own provinces of Bengal; so tired were they of foreign service, arising chiefly from the apprehensions they entertained on the score of their families; to prevent which, we trust we shall be pardoned, in supposing no effectual measures had been timely taken. Indeed the conduct of the corps first detached under Colonels Leslie and Goddard, strongly demonstrates that the subsequent repugnance of the troops to foreign service, could arise only from the consideration we have suggested. For did they either decline the expedition, or desert it? No; they were then ignorant of the grievous consequences which were to result in their absence to their unprotected families. But the Sepoys who remained at home being constant eye-witnesses of them, reasonably concluded, when called upon themselves to go abroad, that in the event of their compliance, their own wives and children would be involved in the same distresses.

distress. This natural aversion to foreign or distant service, was also considerably heightened by the reports of deserters from the troops employed in the Carnatic, who represented, with exaggeration, the hardships experienced in that scene of action.

B O O K VII.

CONTIGUOUS to the Decan lies the Soubahdary of the Carnatic Payen Ghaut. The Governors of this domain, during the prosperity of the Mogul empire, were nominated by the Soubahdars of the Decan ; nor was it until the year 1765, that in the person of the present Nabob Mohammed-Ally-Cawn, it was declared, by royal phirmaund, independent of the Decan, but dependent upon the empire.

The contentions which took place, relative to the dominion of this rich territory, have, in the former part of this work, been treated of at full length. It will be sufficient, therefore, in this place, just to state, that by the death of Chunda-Saheb, and the extinction of the French power,

power, in the reduction of Pondicherry, in 1761, the Nabob, Mohammed - Ally, found himself quietly seated on the musnud of the Carnatic; and that consequently he, and his allies the English, had nothing to divert their attention from the much-wanted domestic regulation of their affairs, saving some troubles excited by a rebel in the province of Madura, called Usoph-Cawn, and by the refractoriness of some of the feudatories of the Carnatic, who, in the end, were all reduced to a proper sense of obedience.

The gratitude of the Nabob, Mohammed-Ally-Cawn, for the essential services thus rendered to him by the English, knew no bounds. He conferred on them innumerable favours, and founded forth their kindness to the different powers of Hindostan. He defrayed most of the expences of the national wars that were carried on with France, as if he had been the principal in every quarrel. His treasures went for the siege of Pondicherry, and for

the defence of Madras. Nor was this all: he voluntarily engaged himself to maintain, at his own expence, a considerable number of Sepoy troops, officered and disciplined by the English; and ultimately conferred on them a jaghire round their settlement of Madras, which he annually rented for a considerable sum of money.

Mutual obligations of this nature speedily cemented a connection of necessity into one of friendship and affection. The Nabob has ever acknowledged himself indebted to the English for the unmolested government of his country; and they as readily have acknowledged the great benefits which they have derived from him. From their first alliance, their interests have been inseparable: hand in hand, they stemmed the torrent of adversity, and, in like manner, became victorious over their respective enemies.

When this is known, therefore, and when the Company's records for the space
of

of upwards of thirty years can shew, that the Directors, though differing in political principles themselves, have uniformly thanked him for his invariable attachment to their interests; when this, I say, is known, how strange will it appear to the unprejudiced part of the world, that the agents of the Company in the East Indies should, in regular succession, have deemed it of importance to their affairs to load this favourite ally of their masters, nay, even of their sovereign, with what must be termed, however reluctantly, oppression and disgrace !

In judging of the friendship with which the Crown of England and the Company have regarded the Nabob, two unerring guides appear to have invariably actuated him towards them : the first, a warm remembrance of the interest which they had taken, from the beginning, in his prosperity and happiness : the second, the approbation of his own heart, which always empowered him to declare, that in

no one instance, from the day of their beginning the journey of friendship together, had he ever once deviated from the path of steady attachment to their interests, and of warm affection to the whole English nation. As a man, moved by his own, and by the passions of others, he certainly must have been wounded by the cruel treatment of the Company's representatives; but, as a prince, placing his dependence upon their faith, and the security of the English alliance, he never for a moment seems to have allowed himself to harbour the smallest degree of distrust, or to swerve even in idea from the resolution he early adopted of rising or falling with their power in Hindostan. "After the long series of mixed fortune which we had undergone together," says he, in a letter to a great personage, "a prospect opened to me at length that filled my soul with the gladness of hope, and which of itself was sufficient to bind my attachment unalterably, and for ever, to the English. I saw not only my
" sons

“ sons arrive at maturity, but even their
“ children promising farther hopes. When
“ you understand, therefore, the regulation
“ of my country, and of my religion, you
“ will feel, in your generous bosom, the
“ injustice with which I have been treated
“ by some of the servants of the Com-
“ pany.”

In entering thus diffusively into the character and connection of the Nabob Mohammed-Ally-Cawn with the English nation, it is hoped that we shall appear as unbiassed in our judgement, as the nature of the circumstances we shall treat of will admit. We must confess, indeed, that the mind is often led to investigate occurrences with some degree of prejudice, when an object held to be deserving is seen to labour under a load of unmerited oppression; and in no one instance could an influence of that nature more powerfully operate, than in that which is now the subject of our consideration; yet it is our hope, as it is our design, to avoid every

kind of partiality. Candour will require of us a strict adherence to truth ; and from her path we have no desire to deviate.

The uniform tenour of a long life, in order to establish a conviction of his invincible attachment to the English nation ; the expenditure of the treasures left him by his father, of his own ample revenues, and of all that he hath been able to borrow in his dominions, should, at least, have been sufficient to prove the sincerity of his intentions ; but the insatiable cravings of rapacity are never to be satisfied ; causes have regularly been found to disturb him in the few years repose that his natural enemies have left him ; and these, we are sorry to believe, on grounds no better founded than the certainty, that, rather than spin out a whole existence of anxiety, or run the risk of misrepresentation to the nation of England, he would purchase a compromise on any conditions which his oppressors might deem it convenient to prescribe.

'The

The operation of effects of this nature, confined not merely to himself, but spreading throughout his dominions, has been the means of lessening his influence and authority, and effectually of putting it out of his power to be that friend to the English which he otherwise would be, should any unforeseen event make the resources of the Carnatic immediately necessary *.

The peace of the Carnatic, and the union of all its parts under one head, are unquestionably objects of the greatest importance; and, therefore, the more flourishing the Nabob's finances, and the greater the force he can command, the

* How fully this prediction has been verified, has been unhappily too evident, in the last invasion of the Carnatic by Hyder-Ally-Cawn; and in the footing acquired at one time by the French at Cuddalore. Had it not been for the great and almost incredible exertions of the Government General of Bengal, Mohammed-Ally and the English must have been driven from the Carnatic. Madras must have fallen.

more certain must be the advantages of his allies. When the English Company established themselves in Asia, it was by friendship and by favour. It is but of late years that the Imperial phirmaunds, and funnuds of the Soubahdars, have given a sanction to their conquests, and established legal rights to countries taken from others by the sword. Formerly their dependence was on the Prince of the country; they courted his friendship, honoured his person, and respected his power. How changed and altered are they now! Yet, however powerful, the most effectual means of securing a lasting and permanent interest in India, are gentleness and lenity to the natives; an endeavour to gain their hearts by affability, and cement their favour by moderation; to shew the strictest regard to justice in all their dealings; to make all ranks of men, under their respective governments, feel the happy influence of the British constitution; to shew the greatest fidelity in all their treaties with the Princes of the country; to gain their confidence by attention
to

to their interests; and to make their partiality and friendship to those who have been faithful allies to the Company and to the nation, so marked and evident, that they shall not only feel the happy influence themselves, but that all the Princes of Hindostan shall be witnesses of so admirable a conduct. How far these principles have operated with the Company and their agents will appear more plainly in the sequel.

We must however confess, that the Presidency of Madras hath often found itself involved in almost inextricable difficulties; difficulties arising not from misconduct in the members of its administration, but from circumstances coeval with the English connection with the Nabob of the Carnatic.

The tract of country which this nation hath agreed to defend for the Nabob in the Carnatic, extends upwards of one thousand miles from North to South; nor have
they

they any means of supporting the troops which are necessary for its defence, but those very revenues, which would fail the moment an enemy entered the Payen-Ghaut.

But that which is still of a greater degree of importance, is, the Company's having heretofore depended entirely on the Nabob's amicable disposition towards them ; never deeming it of consequence to negotiate a treaty with him, or to draw a precise line relative to the conduct of their servants, as it might be connected with the Government of the Carnatic. From which evils, the Government of Madras have always been at the mercy of the Nabob ; and have been reduced, when their resources failed, to one of these two alternatives, either the making of peace on any terms they could procure, for want of means to carry on the war (as was the case in the war with Hyder-Ally-Cawn *)

* The war of 1767.

or of pursuing whatever measures the Nabob might deem it necessary to dictate. These are imperfections in a political system that should be remedied; the mode is easy, and shall be pointed out hereafter.

Freed from all the disturbers of his domestic quiet on the fall of Madura, and the death of Usoph-Cawn, the Nabob of the Carnatic sat seriously to work on the great business of reformation in his dominions. The ravages of war had nearly extinguished every spark of industry in his subjects. The villages, that in former days were crowded with inhabitants, were now almost depopulated; the lands lay waste, and all was hurrying to destruction. Time alone, however, could operate with effect on calamities so rooted; that which was in the power of a munificent Prince, was quickly applied to the diseases of the state. Humanity prompted him to relieve the distresses of his people; nor was he sparing of the utmost encouragement to those

those miserable fugitives to return, who, to avoid destruction, had fled from the places of their nativity to less hostile countries. Exertions of this nature never fail of meeting with success. Crowds of his subjects daily flocked to their deserted homes ; industry once more began to raise her head in his dominions, and agriculture to flourish ; but the respite from war was to be of short duration.

In searching into the causes of the many revolutions which have happened on the coast of Coromandel, but more especially in the Carnatic, a person, unacquainted with the authentic history of those parts, would naturally conclude, that the Nabob, Mohammed-Ally-Cawn, from his first accession to the musnud, had uniformly been actuated by a spirit of restless ambition and enterprize ; that he alone had been the spring of action in all political contests, and that to him alone was to be attributed all the disturbances that for a series of years unhappily

visited those countries : nor is it possible for a candid mind to form a different conclusion, while truth lies buried under a heap of misrepresentation : be it our present task to clear it from the falsehood with which it is encumbered.

The Presidency of Madras, from whom all knowledge of the transactions of that side of India hath been derived, have hitherto possessed not only the deliberative, but also the executive power both of the Nabob's government and of their own. In matters of moment, every thing hath either originated with them, or hath been executed with their concurrence. The Nabob never assumed an independency, or a separation of interests ; his arms and treasure were employed as they deemed most advantageous to the common cause. In the representation of political events, therefore, the Presidency of Madras have always kept the channel open to themselves. Where merit was to be acquired, they availed themselves of the advantage,
and

and ascribed it to their own administration ; where punishment was to be dreaded, they shifted the blame, and fixed the opprobrium on the Nabob.

For upwards of thirty years did this Prince refrain from writing directly to the King, or to the Company. His letters were constantly transmitted through the Presidency of Madras, and went open for their perusal. When this, therefore, is known, and that the governors themselves in general dictated those letters ; when it comes to be considered, that for the satisfaction of the immediate power on the spot, and for the security of his own peace of mind, as well as from an acquaintance that there existed a superior authority in England to that of the Company or their delegates ; we say, when these things come to be considered, the odium, which has unmeritedly been cast upon the Nabob, will revert upon the heads of those who, to screen themselves,
have

have injuriously attempted to reprobate the character of another.

One postulate here, it may not be unnecessary to lay down ; which is, that the entanglements of Indian politics are great, because in general they are temporary, and rarely have a permanent object in view ; but then they are natural, because they are dictated by the present necessity of those who govern, and are, perhaps, more obvious on that account than the politics of Europe, where the secret interests of individuals, and the influence of party, have often a very large share in the transactions of the state.

The feudal system, which existed in its full vigour during the prosperity of the Mogul empire, still prevails in the different governments of Hindostan. The Soubahdars, whatever inattention they may pay to it, still acknowledge themselves the vassals of the crown ; the Nabobs promise obedience to the Soubahdars ; and the Rajahs

jahs and Zemindars, who are the Hindoo orders of chieftains, are bound to the fulfillment of every obligation, as feudatories to the Mohammedan Princes, in their several provinces.

Of this latter class is the Rajah, improperly stiled the King of Tanjore: his country is the largest and most valuable of any possessed by the Zemindars in the Carnatic dominions; being bounded by the sea, and bordering upon the French and Dutch territories, is so situated as to be of infinite importance to that country.

The unprecedented and unjustifiable conduct of the English Company towards the Nabob, with respect to this district, has been amply set forth in a variety of tracts. Suffice it here, that the Nabob Mohammed-Ally-Cawn, after punishing the late Zemindar, Pretaub-Sing, for contumacy, and other more serious offences, entered into an agreement with him in 1762, which agreement was guaranteed to both parties

parties by the English ; that this agreement was, in almost every article, daringly and insultingly infringed by his son and successor 'Tuljajie ; infomuch, that the Presidency of Madras, at the repeated solicitations of Sir John Lindsay, the King of Great Britain's Plenipotentiary to the powers of India, and in justice to the Nabob's rights, which they were called upon to defend, sent an army against him, under the command of General Smith, in 1771 ; when, in consideration of his submissions, the Nabob once more took him into favour, and forgave him : that reiterated provocation, non-performance of engagements, and actual combination with the enemies of the Carnatic, at length compelled the Nabob to deprive him of a country which he so unworthily possessed ; a deprivation effected with the concurrence of Admiral Sir Robert Harland, his Majesty's Commander in Chief and Plenipotentiary in India, and of the Company's representatives at Madras : that the Company, in defiance of every principle of the

law of nations, or even of common justice, ordered peremptorily the restoration of the Rajah; and that the Nabob, as the true friend of the English nation, allowed them to take possession of the country (still reserving his claim of right to it) without the smallest opposition whatsoever; confiding in the faith and honour of the people and government of England to reverse a decision, which every impartial man cannot but look upon as unjustifiable and injurious *.

In the idea, that it would be better to finish this object, in the briefest manner

* It is ardently to be wished, that the manifold grievances of this much-injured old Prince were seriously inquired into. His sufferings, and the example they exhibit of English gratitude and faith, are shocking even to the enemies of the Carnatic. Not a Durbar, but looks with horror at the treatment he has met with. Hyder-Ally-Cawn could even inform the English General, then in the field against him, that peace with the English was indifferent to him, their conduct to Mohammed-Ally being too glaring a proof, that they were not to be confided in.

pos-

possible, we have avoided touching upon some other transactions, which, in due order of time, should have appeared before the business of Tanjore was brought before the reader. To return, therefore, to the more extensive operations of the English and of the Nabob.

In recounting the acquisitions of the English in 1765, by royal phirmaund from the Mogul, we have noticed the five Northern Circars on the coast of Coromandel; a territory that had for some time become an object of their attention, and for the rent of which they had negotiated unsuccessfully with the foubahdar of the Decan.

Previous, however, to their getting possession of the Circars, overtures of great moment had been made by some of the most powerful chiefs of the Decan to Mohammed-Ally-Cawn, which had nothing less in view than the placing him on the musnud of that dominion in the room of

Nizam-Ally-Cawn, whose oppressive and tyrannical government they seemed determined to shake off *.

A proposal of this nature, and coming from an authority efficient to its execution, aroused the ambition of the Nabob. The subjects of an extensive kingdom, bordering upon his own, voluntarily inviting him to be their sovereign, was a matter not unworthy of consideration; nor was there apparently any weighty objection to an acquiescence.

In forming a judgement of the general occurrences of human affairs, the surest, and, indeed, the only, rational mode of trial, is by a comparative review of circumstances similar as possible. Upon this principle, therefore, to judge of the Na-

* The father of Mohammed-Ali-Cawn had, previous to his accession to the musnud of the Carnatic, ruled over a principal part of the Decan. He was Nabob of Hydrabad during the soubahship of Nizam-Ul-Mulck.

bob, will only be to render him that justice which he deserves. No Prince, however situated in his government, but possesses, in some degree, the principles of ambition. Even in limited monarchies sovereigns are ever grasping at an extension of their authority; in absolute ones, the annals of mankind are too full of the extravagance of their career.

Appointed to dominion, and accountable to no authority whatever, excepting that of the Mogul, for the conduct he might pursue, the Nabob yet hesitated on the part it was most adviseable for him to take. A long and bloody war had desolated his country, and anticipated his revenues. A load of heavy debts was daily accumulating on his head; and the mere possession of the almost-depopulated Carnatic was all that he had left to extricate him from his difficulties.

Under circumstances like these, and when he at the same time saw his friends

the English, with little scruple, attempting every thing for their own advantage ; filling their treasury with the riches of Bengal, and dismembering a part of the territory of the Decan ; we say, when the Nabob saw this, it was no mighty stride of ambition to listen to a proposal that was voluntarily made him by a powerful people. To shew, however, that his views were inseparably connected with the interests of the English, he immediately made known to them the offers he had received, and consulted with them on the measures he should adopt.

Exhausted by continual exertions in the field, and at length wisely determined to confine themselves to the improvement of the territories they had already acquired, the Company had positively commanded their servants to refrain from all distant operations. The limits of their own domain, as well as that of the Nabob, they deemed sufficient. India was in peace, and they wished to keep it so.

By orders such as these, the Presidency of Madras was necessarily compelled to dissuade the Nabob from an acceptance of the offer. The object, indeed, was tempting, but the friendship of the English was still dearer to him. He, therefore, cheerfully complied with the counsel, and most unambitiously declined the proposals of the Decan.

When circumstances like these are candidly and impartially related, how differently do they strike us from those which are exaggeratedly held forth by designing men, for the accomplishment of their own immediate purposes. Throughout the whole of this transaction, the Nabob has been declared to have been actuated by the most unjust and daring ambition. In chastising his tributary of Tanjore, he has met with the like reproach; and in the wars with Hyder-Ally-Cawn, the whole demerits (as if the ruin was not sufficient) have been laid on him.

We have already shewn the consequences which attended this proposal from the Decan, and the Company's acquisition of the Northern Circars. Both causes operated powerfully with Nizam-Ally-Cawn, and drove him to the alliance which he afterwards formed with Hyder-Ally-Cawn: the effects of this alliance have been elsewhere mentioned; the Carnatic was invaded, and Hyder, victorious, dictated a peace at the gates of Madras in 1769.

Having thus, in a general manner, gone through a narrative of the rise and progress of the English connection with the Nabob Mohammed-Ally-Cawn, we shall next proceed to offer our opinion of what is still wanting to complete the advantages of so important an alliance.

In the first place, a treaty of perpetual friendship and alliance should be concluded with the Nabob Mohammed-Ally-Cawn, by His Majesty, the Company, or the Govern-

Government General of Bengal, in the name of the English nation; the groundwork of which might be as follows :

“ That agreeably to the definitive treaty
 “ of Paris of 1763, and of the Imperial
 “ phirmaund of 1765, the Nabob Mo-
 “ hammed-Ally-Cawn, and his succefsors for ever, ſhould be guaranteed in
 “ the independent poſſeſſion of the Sou-
 “ bahdary of the Carnatic Payen-Ghaut.

“ That the English ſhould not directly
 “ nor indirectly interfere with the Nabob
 “ Mohammed-Ally-Cawn in the govern-
 “ ment, or in the internal management,
 “ of his country.

“ That the forces of the English, in
 “ conſequence of the alliance, offensive
 “ and defensive, of the contracting parties,
 “ ſhould march on proper requiſition to
 “ any part of the Nabob’s dominions, for
 “ the purpoſes of aſſiſting him, either in
 “ the collection of his revenues, or in the
 “ reducing

“ reducing of any of his disaffected tribu-
“ taries.

“ That neither of the contracting par-
“ ties should commit any act of hostility
“ whatever against any of the neighbour-
“ ing powers, but with the express con-
“ currence of the other.

“ That no treaties should be concluded,
“ or negotiations be carried on, by either
“ of the contracting parties, without an
“ immediate communication thereof to
“ the other party ; so that all their mea-
“ sures might be conducted with unani-
“ mity, and one common interest in-
“ variably appear the result of all their
“ actions.

“ That in consequence of this agree-
“ ment, and of his invariable attachment
“ to the English nation, the Nabob Mo-
“ hammed-Ally-Cawn should continue
“ to defray the expences of the Sepoy
“ battalions in the Company's service,
“ which

“ which are at present carried to his
 “ account; that they should be continued
 “ under the orders of the English govern-
 “ ment; and that all contingent charges
 “ should be defrayed by him when they
 “ should be employed from their respec-
 “ tive garrisons on his service.

“ That, as a resource in time of need,
 “ the Nabob Mohammed - Ally - Cawn
 “ should engage constantly to keep, in
 “ his treasury of Madras, the sum of ten
 “ lacks of pagodas; which sum, before
 “ hostilities should commence, should be
 “ paid into the English treasury, for the
 “ purpose of defraying the expences of
 “ the war, and be by them regularly ac-
 “ counted for to his highness.

“ That the English should engage not
 “ to give shelter or protection to any sub-
 “ jects or servants of the Nabob Moham-
 “ med-Ally-Cawn; and, *vice versa*, that
 “ he should engage to deliver up, upon
 “ requi-

“ requisition, any subject of Great Britain
“ who might take refuge in the Carnatic.

“ That no officer, commanding in
“ field or garrison, or any subject what-
“ ever of Great Britain, should be allowed
“ to lend money to any of the subjects of
“ the Carnatic, at more than the legal
“ interest of twelve per cent.

“ That no garrison of English forces
“ should be removed, or any part of
“ them be detached, in the Carnatic,
“ without timely notice being first given
“ to the Nabob ; in order that provisions
“ and necessaries should be prepared for
“ them on their march, and extortion and
“ complaint be consequently avoided.

“ That the Nabob Mohammed-Ally-
“ Cawn should confirm to the English
“ nation for ever the grant of the jaghire
“ round Madras, on condition that it
“ never should be alienated by the Eng-
“ lish

“ lish to any other power, or rented to
 “ any other person than the Nabob him-
 “ self, he paying the full estimated value
 “ thereof.

And lastly, “ That the Nabob Mo-
 “ hammed-Aÿly-Cawn, his family and
 “ servants, resident at Madras, should
 “ not be deemed amenable to the English
 “ laws, but be subject to the established
 “ ordinances of the Carnatic; but, in
 “ order that fraud and chicanery should
 “ be prevented, that the Nabob should
 “ engage to see immediate and impar-
 “ tial justice rendered to every subject
 “ of Great Britain, who should have
 “ transactions with the people of the
 “ Circars.”

In the above sketch of a treaty, we
 have endeavoured to point out all such
 matters as appear to us of consequence suf-
 ficient to be included in an amicable agree-
 ment between two parties, so inseparably
 connected as the English and the Nabob
 Moham-

Mohammed-Ally-Cawn. Some of the articles, we are aware, are of that completion, that objections may be started against them by either party. They are not, however, the less eligible on that account ; regulations are meant to provide against the possibility of evil. The Nabob, it is true, as well as those who will probably be his immediate successors in the government, are such as the English can depend upon. A future age may produce a different race of men *.

* A treaty was concluded in April 1781, between the Nabob Mohammed-Ally-Cawn, and the Government General of Bengal; but the terms of it were disapproved by the East-India Company. The reasons for such disapproval are known only to themselves.

B O O K VIII.

BORDERING upon the Carnatic Payen-Ghaut, is the Carnatic Balla-Ghaut, or what is in general known by the name of the Myfore country. This territory, richer than the Payen-Ghaut,, was for many ages under the government of Rajahs of the Gentoo religion. Hyder-Ally-Cawn, however, a foldier of fortune, having deposed and murdered his sovereign, rendered himself absolute master of it not many years ago.

Hyder-Ally-Cawn was the son of a freedman of the King of Myfore, whose name was Futtah-Naigue. His mother was of a good family. He was born at Colar. By the time he came of age, he found himself in no very elevated situation, though his father had been highly favoured by his master: he therefore enlisted

lifted in the service of one of the two Kings of Myfore, who then reigned ; it being the custom of that country for two fovereigns to fit on the throne together, one as the prince of ftate, the other as the executive magiftrate of the kingdom. Hyder at this time headed four or five hundred mercenaries.

In 1758 he firft brought himfelf into notice in an action with the Mahrattahs. He rapidly followed up his good fortune : and what with intrigue, machination, and a perfevering depravity, which recoiled at nothing, however atrocious, he quickly acquired a celebrity of name, that at once gratified his ambition, and opened him a way to empire.

To vagrant Europeans, whom he took into his pay, it is faid, he was firft indebted for his fucceffes. The difcipline they introduced rendered the troops he commanded, and who daily increafed, formidable and confident. They learned
to

to depend on each other, and to fight with one spring of animation. He now changed his name from plain Hyder-Naigue to that of Hyder-Ally-Cawn.

The double government of Myfore presented him with a tempting opportunity of raising himself to eminence. He accordingly set to work. The seeds of discord were easily sown. He irritated the Kings against each other. War was the result. He now assisted one, and then the other. At length he seized upon Bangalore; and pretending to be entrusted with the seals of the second King of Myfore, ruled over that part of the empire, while the first King continued to reign at his capital of Seringapatam.

In Bangalore, Hyder was unsuccessfully besieged by the Mahrattahs, and the first or great King of Myfore. He revenged the attempt; and in a vigorous assault carried Seringapatam by storm. He now was in possession of both sove-

U

reigns,

reigns, and of a powerful and dangerous enemy, a Bramin, called Cundarow, who had stirred up the Mahrattahs against him, and who he in retaliation confined in a cage.

From this time he governed Myfore with absolute authority; styling himself the Regent, and using no other signet, or stamp upon the coinage than that of his unfortunate sovereigns, who shortly after fell the victims of his jealousy and ambition.

It is not to be forgotten here, that during this rebellious subjugation of the ancient government of Myfore, Hyder was assisted by a Romish bishop. A dignity of the church of Christ was seen to fight under the banners of an usurper, a regicide, and a Mohammedan !

His authority fixed in Myfore, Hyder next turned his thoughts to Bidanore. He took advantage of the minority of the lawful

ful prince of that valuable country ; and under the mask of supporting him against a cabal which forcibly retained the administration of affairs, he gained possession of the capital, and then mastering the country, annexed it to his other dominions anno 1763.

Nor did he stop here. He conquered the Nairs, and all the petty Rajahs and chiefs on the Malabar side of India. He wrested countries, likewise, from the Soubahdar of the Decan ; and besides Canoul and Cudapah, he drew afterwards under his government various other considerable districts belonging to the Mahrattahs : so that in a very short space of time he was the despotic ruler of an empire, yielding upwards of four crores of rupees annually*.

Hyder-Ally-Cawn was a character of an extraordinary mould. He was grossly illiterate, not knowing even the alphabet ;

* Four millions sterling.

and yet by dictation he was his own secretary. He never employed ministers. He was duan, treasurer, and all the motley compounds of an Asiatic administration himself. In the early part of his days he was brave and courageous. In every stage of his life he was an able general. He was not naturally inhuman. When he was cruel, he saw, or thought he saw, a political necessity which demanded it. Liberal to his friends, but oppressive to his enemies. He was the encourager of all useful projects amongst his subjects. He treated them with kindness, but he rigidly exacted their obedience. Such were the striking features of the portrait of Hyder-Ally-Cawn.

In the course of our narrative we have necessarily been obliged to take notice of the offensive league that was concluded between Hyder and Nizam-Ally-Cawn against the English and the Carnatic, and of the reasons which induced Hyder-Ally to pitch upon so critical a juncture. The

year 1767 began with hostilities on both sides. This war, so disgraceful to the English nation in its conclusion, was planned and conducted, as we have already remarked, with an infatuated degree of indiscretion. The English general was counteracted in all his schemes by the presence of two field deputies, who were in every respect unacquainted with the principles of military service: the supplies to the army were irregular and scanty. Hyder found means to surprise them in their camp, to carry off their provisions and baggage, to seize upon their best posts, by procuring the most exact intelligence, and in reality to dishearten, in a great degree, a body of men who had hitherto been unacquainted with fear. The whole of the year 1767 was spent in this manner; 1768 saw the English at one time more successful.

Hyder, worsted in several engagements, was still, however, formidable, and kept up a menacing countenance: terms of ac-

commodation were proposed to him; he listened to them with indifference; nor was it without much negociation, that he was prevailed upon to conclude a peace, after having carried on the war for two years. This peace was concluded at St. Thomas's Mount in 1769, as we have already related.

Hyder-Ally still continues to be considered, by several of the English, rather as an enemy against whom it is necessary they should be constantly on their guard, than as an ally on whom they might depend. Some are even of opinion, that unless the English, by some means or other, get rid of a neighbour too ambitious and too active for their repose, they cannot with security rely on that power, which a fortunate combination of circumstances hath given them on the coast of Coromandel. We, however, confess ourselves to be of a contrary opinion. It is true, that Hyder, previous to the taking up arms against him by the English and the Nabob

Nabob Mohammed-Ally-Cawn, threatened an invasion of the Carnatic from Coimbattoor in 1767; and obtained from Nizam-Ally-Cawn a fannud, vesting in himself the government of the Nabob's dominions: but, on the other hand, it is equally true, that the English and the Nabob agreed, that if their arms should prove successful against him, the Company should stand in the character of Dewan of his (the Myfore) country; that the family of the Myfore Rajahs should be restored to the nominal superiority; but that the Nabob should have the actual power of the government. Could it be ambition, therefore, which alone actuated Hyder in the vigorous measures he afterwards pursued? or was it a necessary attention to his own preservation? — For a length of time Hyder had reason to apprehend a storm from the Carnatic: the intrigues of the English and of the Nabob Mohammed-Ally-Cawn, for some years in the Decan, he had not been unacquainted

with ; neither had he been ignorant of their transactions in Bengal.

Causes so powerful combining against, and threatening his future tranquillity, and the Nabob's professed enmity to him being publicly known, it was not unnatural in him, neither can it be deemed politically unjust, that he should endeavour to divert the danger from his own head, and fix it, if possible, upon those whom he knew to be his enemies.

It has been affirmed, that the French are the undoubted friends of Hyder ; that he preserves an inviolable attachment to their interests, and that he will throw himself into the arms of France the very first opportunity. This we believe to be literally true : but would he not be senseless were he to act otherwise, when he finds, not only that he cannot obtain assistance from England, but that the Nabob of the Carnatic is his declared enemy ? that he wishes at all risques to subdue him ;

him ; that the Mahrattahs are in the same temper of mind ; and that constant endeavours are used to make the English his enemies also ? Hyder we know to be connected with the French (whose power, indeed, at the present, in that quarter of the globe, is so effectually annihilated, that nothing but a miracle can restore it ;) but at the same time we are convinced, that he would gladly unite with any power on earth that could lend the least assistance to save him from destruction : and can he be blamed ? or can an attention to his own interest be imputed to him as a crime ?

An analogy of circumstances will set this matter in a clearer point of view. When the English in Bengal had totally subjugated Shujah-Ul-Dowlah, a plan was determined on for depriving that prince of his dominions : Lord Clive, however, soon discovered that the King, unto whom they were to have been given, was unable to maintain them, and that it would
have

have broken down one of his strongest barriers against the Mahrattahs and the northern powers ; he therefore wisely restored Shujah-Ul-Dowlah to his dominions. Such, in our opinion, should be the conduct of the English with respect to Hyder-Ally-Cawn and the Soubahdar of the Decan, neither of whom should be totally reduced.

The treaties which subsist between the English and these princes should likewise be considered in an investigation of this nature. In all of them mutual defence is included ; but in no one instance hath that article been carried into execution. The affording of Hyder aid, we will allow, would be productive of many dangerous consequences ; and therefore the political necessity that could warrant it must be urgent indeed : but again, on the other hand, the seeking his extirpation, while under an obligation to defend him, and while the English know that on his ruin the already overgrown power of the Mahrattahs

Mahrattahs would be exalted to so dangerous a height, as to threaten destruction to the Carnatic, would be to trample upon an agreement which it is their real advantage to preserve inviolable. Hyder should be upheld in his dominions; his gratitude might then be possibly depended on; and the barrier he would form against the Mahrattahs, with whom he is ever at war, would render him in the end one of the most useful and profitable allies that the English or the Carnatic possibly could have*.

Having

* On grounds similar to these, Hyder proposed an alliance with the English through the Presidency of Madras in 1779. His overtures were not treated with the attention he conceived they merited. The consequence was, he immediately and openly prepared for war; and in the beginning of 1780, entered and laid desolate the Carnatic. How far his son, Tipoo Saheb, may wish to persevere in his steps, it is at this moment impossible to say. The son, though not so good a statesman, is yet a better soldier than the father. War is not the interest of the English. They should sedulously seek for peace; and it may be as prudent, perhaps, to preserve it with Tipoo Saheb, as with any power in

Having thus arrived at the end of our historical Analysis, we shall next proceed to throw together some reflections which necessarily grow out of the subjects we have been treating. The Portuguese and French, the immediate predecessors of the English in the regions of Hindostan, not satisfied with the wealth and power which they voluntarily received from the indolent inhabitants, madly endeavoured to extend their acquisitions by perfidy and the sword. This they in several instances accomplished ; but their success, in the end, was inadequate to their expectations. Large tracts of country, without the means of regular defence, are the surest attractions to an Asiatic enemy. Accustomed to predatory excursions, the very idea of deliberate action is exploded from their system ; suddenly they rush upon

India. The reader will be pleased to observe, that the reason of keeping Hyder's name in the body of this little tract, although he died in 1782, is simply because it is better known in Europe than that of his son and successor Tippoo Saheb.

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a country with fire and desolation, and with an equal precipitancy, sweep all that they do not destroy before them.

On this account, all the territorial possessions of Europeans in the East Indies should be compact, connected, and so equally well defended, that an enemy should have no advantage in attacking one place in preference to another. But that which is of still greater importance towards their permanent security, is the good faith with which they should conduct themselves in all their transactions with the country governments. Though prone to chicanery and duplicity themselves, the people of India are yet admirers of the contrary character in others. The English they have ever supposed the most honourable of all Europeans; and, on that account, the English influence hath extended farther than did that of the French or Portuguese, even in the days of their greatest prosperity.

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The immutability of English truth, however, hath for some years past been a matter of doubt in many parts of Hindostan; articles of agreement have been evaded, treaties have been broken, hostilities have been commenced unjustly, and even the members of one Presidency have been seen to assist the enemies of another. To remedy a defect so glaring, and one which so loudly called for redress, the Legislature of England thought proper to constitute a Government General, with superintending and controlling powers over the other Presidencies, so far as should relate to their declaring war or negotiating peace, excepting in cases of imminent necessity. But this is a power of ideal consideration, more than of real efficiency; since imminent necessity can always be alledged.

No commission should be granted, with an imaginary or a circumscribed authority, to a Board of Supremacy; it should have
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an unlimited command, or none*. To say, that the Governor General and Council can punish any of the members of the inferior administrations, for not adhering to the spirit of the act of Parliament, is to set down for a certainty that which we are convinced it would be difficult to execute. An instance of this is now before us.

The Government of Bombay, in the year 1776, espoused the cause of Raghonaut-Row †, and entered into an alliance

* It has been in agitation, it is said, to give the Governor General a paramount authority. The measure would be a wise one. Whoever he may be, he should, under the heaviest penalties, have an uncontrollable power. At present India is most distractedly governed. The native Princes know not in which English administration to confide. They behold an universal counteraction. This should be attended to, or it may be too late to remedy the defect.—Mr. Pitt's Bill had not been brought into Parliament when the above was written.

† By the last advices from India, intelligence has been received of the death of Raghonaut-Row. Of this circumstance we were not apprised, until it was too late to insert it in the body of this treatise.

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with him. The Governor General and Council of Bengal deemed it expedient to annul the terms of that alliance, to order the British forces to be withdrawn from the assistance of that chief, and to enter into engagements with the opposite party. Still, however, the Government of Bombay continued their protection, though not their military assistance, to Raghonaut-Row. The Company in England, not knowing the measures that were pursued by the Governor General and Council, approved of the Bombay alliance; and this emboldened that Presidency to persevere in the resolution which it had at first adopted*.

How such a contrariety of action can be of benefit to the general system, is a point that we shall leave to the decision of

* A more serious refractoriness hath since shewn itself in the Presidency of Fort St. George. But, as this subject is now under discussion, an exposition of it would possibly be considered as precipitate and unfair.

others.

others. The supremacy of the Government General is certainly thereby rendered unavailing. The powers of India are witnesses of what must appear to them an assumed authority. Discord takes place, and the want of unanimity is felt even more than it was before.

One good, however, results from the appointment; and that is, the peace and tranquillity which it has in general diffused throughout the provinces of Hindostan: nor is that the only benefit that may be expected from it; the right of negotiation, and of forming alliances, being vested in the Governor General and Council alone, a system may be thereby established for fixing, on a lasting foundation, the balance of power in India.

From what has been said of the Princes of Hindostan, their situation and different connections, it must evidently appear, that nothing could tend so much to the general tranquillity, or to the safety of the Eng-

lish in particular, as an alliance established between that nation, the Nabob of the Carnatic, the Nabob of Owd, the Soubahdar of the Decan, Hyder-Ally-Cawn, and the Mahrattahs.

By a convention of this nature, the peace of India would be effectually secured. The other nations would tremble at a power so formidable; and the English, in the event, would reap the most solid and permanent advantages *.

At the same time, however, that an alliance with Mohammed - Ally - Cawn, Aufuph-Ul Dowlah, Hyder - Ally - Cawn, the Mahrattahs, and Nizam-Ally-Cawn would be highly beneficial to the common cause, we are far from being of opinion

* Visionary as this combination was supposed, an alliance has now taken place between the very powers here mentioned. The Government General of Bengal, and Mhadajee Scindia concluded it in 1781, and it was ratified at Poonah, the Mahrattah capital, in 1783.

that the English should be in the least inattentive to the terms of those treaties which they have already concluded with the other powers of Hindostan. On the contrary, it should be their aim to cultivate an universal amity ; in short, to appear what they undoubtedly may be, if at any time they are so inclined, the arbiters of the East.

One regulation, however, is essentially necessary towards effecting this salutary purpose ; and that is, the establishment of residents at the several principal courts of Hindostan. At present all intelligence is communicated by spies, a species of information that is little to be depended on. English residents, on the contrary, would be more tenaciously watchful, not only of all public actions, but of all private machinations. The expence would be but trifling ; and the certain indication it would convey of the English friendship, would be productive of the best consequences. This I am convinced is a matter

of infinitely greater moment than it may at first seem to be. A local knowledge of the movements of the respective governments hath long been wanting. The English have hitherto deliberated in the dark; no information being to be depended on; all has been left to chance and the effect of accidental communication *.

But this measure should not be partially adopted, since one of its principal advantages would result from a comparison of the information furnished by the several agents, whose separate and unconcerted communications and reflections would be frequently found to explain and illustrate each other.

Political wisdom strongly inculcates the necessity there is that those who are

* Since the publication of this tract, ministers have been sent to the Courts of Nizam-Ally-Cawn, Mhadajei-Bhoonsellah, and others. One even was intended for the Durbar of Hyder-Ally-Cawn, when the war broke out with that Prince, in 1780.

intrusted with the administration of government, should make it one of the first objects of their care, to acquire an accurate knowledge of the secret dispositions and designs of any Prince or people with whom they conclude a peace, or contract an alliance. The inconveniencies arising from a disregard of this policy may be instanced in a recent case of the Ranah of Gohud.

The Government General of Bengal justly conceiving this chieftain to be capable, from his local situation, of contributing to the execution of the plan which they had formed for conducting the war against the Mahrattahs, entered into an offensive and defensive treaty of friendship with him : but not sufficiently acquainted with his real interests, his real views, or real strength, they unwarily made him concessions, to which he was on no account entitled, and which drew upon them, in the end, very considerable difficulties. Had there been an agent at the

Durbar of this Rajah, prior to the period referred to, those difficulties would have been avoided, and, instead of them, essential advantages would have been derived from the connection. But the political system of the Company had been either too narrow in its operations, or too æconomical in its spirit, to supply the information requisite on this occasion, and which information could only have been derived from the source we have already mentioned. It followed, therefore, that the Council General were necessitated to regulate their conduct in this important affair, by such imperfect lights as a hasty and unsatisfactory research could afford. The issue was by no means surprising. It was discovered that the views and interests of the Ranah were very different from what they had imagined. It was found that he had, in the beginning, concealed his real views : and it was experienced, either that they had been mistaken in his character and disposition, or that an erroneous estimate

estimate had been made of his power and resources.

On duly considering this fact, the necessity of circumspection in forming either temporary or lasting alliances with any of the native powers of India, must be abundantly apparent. The utility of collecting every possible information respecting the disposition, genius, talents, character, connections, views, interests, revenues, military strength, and even domestic history of those Princes or people, with whose affairs our own happen to be interwoven or related, either immediately or remotely, must be also equally clear. And finally, the persons deputed for this purpose, if chosen with care, would, by transmitting exact and well-digested information to the Government General on the various points just particularised, enable it to decide on foreign affairs with a precision and promptitude, to which, labouring under the disadvantage we have

stated, it is impossible it should have always been equal.

It may be permitted here to observe, that as it is the universal practice both of European and Asiatic powers to employ such agents, no good reason can be offered why the same policy should not be adopted by the East-India Company, which, perhaps, has more numerous, as well as more distant connections, (we talk not here of positive, but political connections), than any one state in Europe.

The avowed and ostensible objects of such ministers or agents, should be the promoting of harmony and a good understanding between the Princes, at whose courts they should reside, and the Government General of India ; and their endeavours to accomplish so desirable an end should be sincere and unwearied. They might also be instructed to deliberate in conjunction with these chiefs, or their confidential servants, on the most effectual
means

means of increasing the mutual confidence of their principals, so as to lead to the establishment of a firm and durable friendship between them. Their progress, however, to this point, ought to be slow, to the end that they may have time for obtaining every proper and necessary information before any overtures, for a closer connection be either offered or received.

Besides directing their attention and inquiries to the general objects that have been already enumerated, there are some particular ones, which would properly fall within their province, and with which the controlling Government in India, should be equally conversant. These principally refer to the personal or domestic circumstances of the Princes at whose courts they should reside. It is not sufficient that the Government General are acquainted with the real interests of the several states around them: nor should they be satisfied with inferring the probability of any particular design or measure from its
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consonance or agreement with these interests. Such deductions will, doubtlessly, often be just, but they will also be frequently fallacious: Princes not uncommonly are governed by favourites and ministers: and it sometimes happens that the views of such counsellors are directly repugnant to the interests of their masters. Hence a knowledge of the characters and secret intentions of this description of men would occasionally be essential to the prudent administration of affairs: and hence the attainment of this knowledge would properly form one of the most material pursuits of residents at the several Durbars of India.

We could expatiate much more largely on the salutary tendency of the measure we have advised, but this may suffice to demonstrate its utility. Before we dismiss the subject, however, we will add, that exclusive of the political benefits which would be yielded by the regulation in question, it would be productive of many capital

capital advantages in a literary view. Europeans are by no means perfectly acquainted with the history or manners, the character or genius, the religions or philosophical tenets, the literature or languages of the inhabitants of Hindostan. Considerable improvements and discoveries remain to be made in each of these interesting points; nor need it be insisted on, because it is abundantly obvious, that our agents, at the different courts of India, might, by the facility with which they would obtain access to various materials and documents hitherto unexplored, contribute, in an eminent degree, to the advancement of this branch of useful and curious knowledge. In this light alone, therefore, the appointment of a resident at the court of the Lama of Thibet, may be regarded as a measure of public utility. In all events, the advantages of a general regulation, like to that in contemplation, could not fail to compensate for the expence which it would create, though
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that expence should be even more considerable than it need be.

But to the whole it may possibly be objected, that the jealousy and distrust which this measure would probably excite in the powers of Hindostan, if it did not prevent its execution, would, at least, render English agents so suspected, that their situation would be exceeding disagreeable, and their constraint such as to make them incapable of communicating either useful or curious information.

To this it may be replied, that ambassadors and residents, at all courts, are considered in the double capacity of negotiators and state spies; yet this persuasion no where prevents their reception, or subjects them to particular constraint. If the receiving of such ministers be attended with inconveniencies, it is, in return, productive of advantages; for the practice being universal, these advantages and disadvantages may be said to be reciprocal;
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and, perhaps, no courts are less mysterious or secret than those of India. There are, it is true, many arts practised in them calculated to deceive; but these will rarely succeed with one who is acquainted with the genius of the people. Eastern Durbars, indeed, are so little prone to jealousy or suspicion, of the nature here alluded to, that avowed spies and intelligencers are tolerated at every one of them; nor are they prevented from communicating such information as they may collect to their employers, except when an open rupture has broke out between the parties, in which event, they are either dismissed or recalled. Hence it is plain, that a resident conducting himself at any Indian court with ordinary decency and prudence, is very unlikely to become an object of jealousy or distrust; and even if he should be considered in such a light on his first arrival, it would require very little address to remove the impression.

If public ministers, indeed, will openly intrigue at foreign courts, or if they will seek information in an indiscreet manner, and by improper means, it is natural that they should become obnoxious. So long, however, as they conduct themselves with prudence, and avoid betraying a prying and eager curiosity, it may safely be affirmed, that neither their actions will be suspected, nor their situation rendered uneasy.

Essential, however, as regulations of this nature may be in the extensive management of the political system of the English government in the East Indies, an attention to the less complicated regulation of their domestic concerns may not be less necessary or useful.

Of all the innovations which have been made by the Legislature in the management of the Company's affairs, not one hath been so loudly exclaimed against as the introduction of the English laws into
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the Bengal provinces. This, however, we are sorry to believe, hath proceeded more from a disappointment of interested views, than from a conviction of any pernicious consequences that they are likely to produce. No man of reason, possessing a personal knowledge of the manners and customs of Hindostan, can honestly declare, he believes the English laws improper to be introduced into that country. Prejudice, indeed, may operate powerfully on some who have been educated in all the principles of Asiatic despotism, who have ruled over provinces with an arbitrary sway, and whose words have been law; but a dispassionate enquirer, who judges with moderation, and who sees the necessity of coercion in a country where common justice hath been trampled under foot, not only by some of the English themselves, but universally by their servants and dependents, will unhesitatingly confess, that the rod of legal authority cannot but be serviceable in withholding the hand of oppression, and ensuring to

the honest labourer the scanty reward of his industry and trouble. This, it is said, has never been denied him. But what is more liable to misrepresentation than an unsettled state, where all dominion, after the confusion of successive revolutions, is transferred to a few strangers, and where the conquerors, living under their own laws of freedom, amidst a nation of helpless and unprotected beings, exhibit a situation almost without parallel in history ?

At the time when the power of the English nation gave effect to the usurpations of the private trader, who decided his own claims, oppressing the natives, and threatening the officers of government if they presumed to interfere, the necessity was soon perceived of confining the free merchants to the respective presidencies. But this did not eradicate the evil, the same practices were continued by the servants of the Company.

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When the rapacity, therefore, of all who assumed the name of English, or of English agents, was let loose upon a harmless and inoffensive race of men, what incitement could there be to the manufacturer and labourer? To reclaim men from dissipation, to check impatient hopes, where youths aspire to the absolute government of countries at an age scarcely adequate to the management of private affairs, to revive a general spirit of industry, to lead the minds of all from infatuating illusions of sudden-acquired wealth to a patient expectation of growing fortunes, is no less difficult in execution, than necessary to the existence of good government. These are positions that, I believe, will be admitted by every candid and discerning mind; they are conformable to the decrees of unerring justice.

To say that the inhabitants of the ceded provinces of India have been regulated by their own laws, is to advance an assertion which daily experience proves to be un-

true. The Indians have never been sheltered by their own laws. Their laws have been derided by their conquerors ; nor could any decisions whatever have effect, when opposed to the merciless hand of rapine and oppression. In short, whatever may be advanced to the contrary, the introduction of the English laws, we are firmly convinced, will be attended with the best of consequences. Scarcely any crime is punishable by the English code, that is not equally so by the Hindoo and Mohammedan institutions : right and wrong, virtue and vice, are the same with them as with other nations. Licentiousness, in the midst of anarchy and confusion, may have tolerated there, as in other places, the perpetration of crimes. A fixed government, however, would soon convince them of the advantages arising from an adherence to what is equitable and just *.

Admit-

* Usurpation grounded on an undefined authority, was never supposed when this Analysis was first published. The punishment of enormities was all that the author had

Admitting, in this manner, that the introduction of the English laws into Bengal will, in the end, be advantageous to the natives, by restraining the oppression of the English and their agents, we shall, for the very same reasons, advance it as our opinion, that the same laws should be established in the other dominions that are subjected to the authority of the Company.

The gentle influence of these happy ordinances diffusing itself from one extremity to the other of the English territorial possessions in the East Indies, would soon change the face of misery, which the inhabitants at present wear, to that of cheerfulness and content.

had in view : he is still, therefore, of opinion, that Courts of Law are expedient in India. To circumscribe them in the influence and pretensions they have assumed, is a measure, no doubt, essential. That, however, must be left to the wisdom of the Legislature.

Is an improvement in the circumstances of the lower rank of people to be regarded as an advantage, or as an inconvenience to the community? The answer is at first sight abundantly plain. Servants, labourers, and workmen of different kinds, make up the far greater part of every political society. What, therefore, improves the circumstances of the greater part, can never be regarded as an inconveniency to the whole. No society can surely be flourishing and happy, of which the far greater part of the members are poor and miserable. It is but equity besides, that they who feed, cloath, and lodge the whole body of the people, should have such a share of the produce of their own labour, as to be themselves tolerably well fed, cloathed, and lodged.

It were, indeed, to be wished, that, in addition to what we have just been saying, the English would distribute the lands they have acquired among the native families, and make those lands their
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own property, under certain terms and conditions. Plenty of good land, and liberty to manage their affairs their own way, seem to be the two great points necessary to the prosperity of new colonies. Uncultivated land, however, should not be engrossed. Every proprietor should be obliged to improve and cultivate, within a limited time, a certain proportion of his lands; in case of failure, those lands should be alienable to any other person. By this means, the Indians would attach themselves to a nation that consulted their happiness, would, in time, become industrious, and, besides discharging with regularity their several payments, would occasion such a consumption of the articles of luxury and refinement, that a gentle excise might be generally assessed for the extraordinary uses of the government.

That the estates acquired in any country should contribute to the expences of government, is a principle that has never been denied by any nation whatever. The
reason

reason of this grand maxim is evident. Private fortunes are so essentially connected with the prosperity of the public, that when that is injured, the other must suffer of course. Thus when the subjects of a state serve it with their fortunes or their persons, they do nothing but defend their own private interest. The prosperity of the country is the prosperity of the citizen.

The present mode of letting the lands in India is attended with many inconveniencies, independent of the disadvantages which result from their unequal distribution. Some Zemindars, unwilling to relinquish their habitations, are often induced to exceed the real value of farms, if their lease is but for a short term of years; and many, who have nothing to lose, advance yet farther, wishing, in all events, to obtain possession. Thus men are let loose to plunder.

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The Zemindar cannot, with safety to his own interests, even though possessed of the ability, encourage the inferior farmers by advancing them money; and without this advance, the lands cannot receive that cultivation, which, with a longer lease, or the absolute possession, it would be for their own advantage to give them.

Farmers renting a portion of land for a short time, with the power, necessarily invested in them, of obliging the ryots or husbandmen to discharge their different rents, will, no doubt, in general, endeavour to make good whatever demands the state may have upon them; and, for that purpose, should the seasons have been bad, will oppress the poor labourers, and thereby reduce them to the lowest extremity of penury and distress. Whereas the letting the farms upon a long lease, or which would, perhaps, be preferable in perpetuity, under certain stipulations, having the grand inducement to farmers annexed

to it, namely, that of lasting advantage, would occasion an attention to the farther cultivation of the already-arable lands, to the amendment of the tanks, reservoirs, and canals, and to the rendering of grounds (barren merely from neglect) by a proper culture, not only profitable to the landholder, but also in a due proportion to the original proprietor. At first, indeed, it is probable these lands would not let for more than hath been received from them in preceding years. This, however, would be the case but for an inconsiderable length of time; the first or second year would afford a small addition in the rent; the third something more considerable; and so on in a regular progression, until the expiration of the fifth or seventh year, when a permanent settlement might be made, either for a limited number of years, or for ever*.

* But this experiment might (and therefore I do not insist on it) be, perhaps, both useless and dangerous: dangerous, because every alteration in the quantity of the tax, especially an increase, must operate to the
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the creating of distrust in the landholder, who will not easily be brought to believe, under such circumstances, that a permanent and invariable rent is intended to be fixed ; and till he be thoroughly persuaded of this, neither his confidence nor his exertions will be such as are stated in the text. Useless, perhaps, because in the event of that prosperity and opulence, which only can result from such a permanency of system, the occasional necessities of the government might be relieved, as well by a general and gentle excise on the articles of consumption, (which would not be felt in the situation we have supposed) as by an increase of the land tax. The subject, however, is worthy of consideration.

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